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HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH HYMN



BENJAMIN BRAWLEY



I love the old melodious lays
Which softly melt the ages through.
—Whittier



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BRAWLEY
HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH HYMN

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MANY books have dealt with the music of hymns. The present work, however, is concerned with the words. It surveys the entire field of the English Hymn, clearly indicating schools and tendencies, and giving due attention to individual compositions, their authors, and the general order of development. A special feature is the careful organization of the material for the nineteenth century, from the missionary movement at the beginning to the social impulse at the close. For convenience the actual text of a number of representative hymns is given, and the book is admirably adapted for use with groups in churches, colleges, and seminaries, while the general reader will find in it endless suggestion for study and meditation. This "History of the English Hymn" offers a clear-cut presentation of one of the most fascinating of literary fields, and a subject of transcendent importance in the history of Christian worship.

He has made a wide and scholarly study of English hymnology and has produced a volume on that subject that is deserving of the critical attention of hymnologists as well as the interest of those who desire to be in possession of accurate information based upon expert judgment concerning the English hymn. The volume does not aim to cover the entire field, but is intended to serve rather as an introduction to English hymnody, offering the kind of approach to the history of the subject as the general reader, members of church clubs and societies, and college and theological seminary students may find helpful.

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is, however, little attempt to recount the stories of the helpful influence of individual compositions. That has been done more than once. At the same time there is frequent reference to the circumstances that called hymns into existence. It is just here that one needs most to be on guard. In the case of "Blest be the tie that binds" or "Lead, kindly Light," the popular account may be well authenticated; but sometimes it has happened that a story has been twisted in the effort to make it more effective, and it may even be that the origin stated is altogether apocryphal. It is hoped that insistence upon truth will not make any of our great hymns less appealing. They are quite able to stand on their merits without embellishment.

A brief bibliography gives a list of books that may be helpful in further study of the subject. To the works of the late Dr. Louis F. Benson, supplemented by the privilege of personal acquaintance, I am more than usually indebted; and only partly is my obligation revealed in the definite citations. Mr. Frank J. Metcalf has very graciously given me the benefit of his broad knowledge of hymn tunes; and I cannot forget the stimulus received some years ago from a series of lectures by the Rev. Frederick L. Hosmer before the Harvard Divinity School.

BENJAMIN BRAWLEY.

Washington, D. C.

ISAAC WATTS

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I

EARLY CHRISTIAN HYMNODY

HYMNODY¹ is an expression of the lyric impulse that is innate in the heart of humanity, and that is especially strong when directed to the worship of the Supreme Being. It is unique in that it is concerned with three great fields of aspiration and achievement, those of religion, literature, and music. Naturally it is seen at its best when in a given composition it unites the highest qualities of all three of these; but that is something it very rarely does. Some of the best-known hymns have manifest literary faults; and often words that have power when set to one tune are quite ineffective

¹ Hardly too strongly can we insist upon the distinction between the words "hymnody" and "hymnology." The second has often been used to include the first, especially by English writers. Hymnody, however, really has reference to hymns themselves, and hymnology, as the etymology would suggest, to the science or study of hymns. Watts primarily contributed to hymnody, but when he wrote an elaborate preface for his representative volume, discussing the theory of the subject, he entered the domain of the hymnologist. Benson has made the distinction once for all (*The English Hymn*, pp. 24-25): "When we have gathered our specimens from the quarry or mine, we have not gathered its 'mineralogy' but its minerals, from which the brain and not the hand must construct their mineralogy. Just so, dealing at present with the English Hymn and its liturgical use, it would appear that the word 'Hymnody' describes the materials for our study; and that the word 'Hymnology' expresses rather that ordered knowledge of hymns to which a study such as ours may be

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when used with another. In every case, however, the religious motive must be prominent. It is this that distinguishes the hymn from other forms of lyric poetry, though it is close to both the song and the ode.

So much does this last point hold, and so much has hymnody come to be recognized as having somewhat arbitrary standards, that there has been a tendency on the part of professional students of the lyric either to ignore or to disparage it. The best that Professor Felix E. Schelling can say is that "the hymns of Watts, and more especially those of John and Charles Wesley, deserve the respect that honest devotional effort (even when versified) should properly inspire";² and Professor Edward B. Reed remarks that "in this great mass of poetry there is very little that shows artistic excellence," with further comment on the general weakness of the style of most hymn writers.³ As to this point of view it can only be suggested that, considered simply as literature, there are at least a few hymns that cannot lightly be waved aside. Among these are Andrew Reed's "Holy Ghost, with light divine," Addison's "The spacious firmament on high," Newman's "Lead, kindly Light," Faber's "Hark, hark, my soul! angelic songs are swelling," Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Still, still with thee, when purple

²*The English Lyric*, Boston, 1913, p. 136.

³*English Lyrical Poetry*, New Haven, 1912, p. 369.

morning breaketh," and Matheson's "O Love that wilt not let me go."

THEORY OF THE HYMN

At the outset we have to face the question, What is a hymn? The Greeks used the word *ᾠμνος* to signify a song or poem composed in honor of a god or hero, or to be recited on some special occasion. It thus included the province of the ode; and not very different is the use in Shelley's "Hymn to Intellectual Beauty" and Longfellow's "Hymn to the Night." In any such case we can understand the lofty mood that dominates the poet, yet we have something that is clearly not a hymn in the ordinary acceptance of the word.

Augustine defined hymns as "songs with praise to God." "Without praise," he said, "they are not hymns," and "if they praise aught beside God, they are not." Bede understood that the "*canticum*" properly required meter, though some of the early Christian hymns in Greek and Latin were in prose. Hardly any definition is likely to go beyond that of the *New International Encyclopædia*: "In the most general sense a hymn is a religious ode or poem; more specifically it is a metrical composition divided into stanzas or verses, intended to be used in worship." We thus have an idea somewhat larger than that of praise. The hymn must in any case preserve an attitude of reverence. It may, however,

not only sing the glory of God but may offer a prayer or voice any spiritual experience whatsoever. In all of this its lyrical character is manifest. Sometimes, as in the eighteenth century, there has been undue intrusion of didactic or doctrinal matter.

In no case are we likely to make too much of the subjective element. When we begin with a direct address to some one of the persons in the Godhead, as in "Rock of Ages, cleft for me," "Jesus, Lover of my soul," or "Lord of all being, throned afar," we are working exactly in line with the accepted standard. It is possible, of course, to have a good hymn without this address to Deity. "How firm a foundation, ye saints of the Lord," shows how easy it is to shift the emphasis; but it cannot be maintained that this strong old hymn is perfectly constructed. "Come, ye disconsolate," brings us to the borderland of the hymn and the song; and many of the so-called gospel hymns have justly been characterized as hardly more than sentimental ballads.

ORIGINS IN THE EARLY CHURCH

Christian hymnody is peculiarly indebted to the Old Testament. The book of Psalms is the oldest hymn book in existence, and it has exerted powerful influence upon the church from the beginning. At the time of Christ the ritual in the Temple was greatly elaborated, with songs to be sung on different days of the week, and others for special occa-

sions. A large choir of Levites led in the praise. This was composed mainly of men and boys, though women's voices were occasionally used. All such worship reached its highest point on the last day of the Feast of Tabernacles, when the choir would lead the multitude in chanting Psalm 82, the priests blowing trumpets at intervals and the people bowing in worship.

The first Christians naturally sang Jewish hymns, but as the years passed the evangelical motive came more and more to prevail. At the very beginning of the new dispensation came the exalted song of Mary (Luke 1. 46-55), called the *Magnificat*, from the first word of the Latin translation; the song of Zacharias, the *Benedictus* (Luke 1. 68-79); that of the angels, the *Gloria in Excelsis* (Luke 2. 14); and that of Simeon, the *Nunc Dimittis* (Luke 2. 29-32). Throughout the New Testament are references to the singing of hymns, and sometimes a clear distinction is made between hymns and psalms. We are told of Christ and his disciples at the close of the institution of the Lord's Supper, "And when they had sung an hymn, they went out into the mount of Olives" (Matthew 26. 30). The one used on that occasion was doubtless a portion of the Hallel (Psalms 115-118). Paul and Silas "sang praises" to God while in prison; and Paul, in writing to both the Ephesians (5. 18-20) and the Colossians (3. 16), enjoins upon them to be filled

with the Spirit and to admonish one another in "psalms and hymns and spiritual songs." The apostle says further (1 Corinthians 14. 26): "How is it then, brethren? when ye come together; every one of you hath a psalm, hath a doctrine, hath a tongue, hath a revelation, hath an interpretation," from which statement it would appear that in this early use of the hymn there was considerable spontaneity.

In the New Testament there are several passages that give the impression of being portions of hymns. Such are 1 Timothy 3. 16, and James 1. 17. Especially notable in a study of origins, however, are some verses in the book of the Revelation:

Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come (4. 8).

Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory and honor and power: for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created (4. 11).

Blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honor, and power, and might, be unto our God for ever and ever (7. 12).

Great and marvelous are thy works, Lord God Almighty; just and true are thy ways, thou King of saints (15. 3).

Just when any one hymn began to be used or received general acceptance by the early Christians it is, of course, impossible to say. The development was gradual, and worship according to the new faith was often attended with danger. Very early in the second century, however, Pliny wrote to the em-

peror Trajan that the Christians were in the habit of meeting before daybreak and of alternately singing among themselves songs to Christ as God. The *Gloria in Excelsis* became known as the Greater Doxology. The so-called Lesser Doxology was the *Gloria Patri*. The first part of this ("*Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto*"), based on the Lord's commission to his disciples (Matthew 28. 19), was in use very early in the apostolic era and was the common doxology. The latter portion ("*Sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in saecula saeculorum. Amen*") seems to have been added by the Western Church after the Arian controversy. The "thrice holy" of Isaiah 6. 3, and Revelation 4. 8, gave us the *Ter Sanctus*; and the *Benedicite* (beginning in the *Book of Common Prayer*, "O, all ye Works of the Lord," and sometimes used in place of the *Te Deum*) was based on a canticle in the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, being a part of the prayer of Azarias in the fiery furnace inserted between verses 23 and 24 of Daniel 3. None of the hymns of the second century have been preserved, and for further development it is perhaps well to distinguish between the hymnody of the Eastern and the Western Church.

HYMNODY IN THE EASTERN CHURCH (GREEK)

We hear so much in the Western world about the Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant denomi-

nations that we are sometimes likely to forget the important part that has been played by the Eastern or Greek Church in the history of Christianity. It will be recalled, however, that this church antedated any other and was, in fact, for some centuries the chief exponent of our religion. It led in apologetics and produced the first Christian literature. All the apostles, with the exception of Peter and Paul, labored and died in the East, and so did most of the early church Fathers. Even to-day the Greek Church occupies the territory of early Christianity.

Schaff distinguishes three periods in its history. First, there was the *classical* or *productive* period, extending through the sixth century and declining in the seventh with vain speculation and controversy. Then came the *Byzantine* period, extending from the rise of Mohammedanism to the fall of Constantinople (650-1453), in which there was gradual separation from the West and from all progressive movements. Finally, there is the *modern* period. It was in the ninth and tenth centuries that the influence of the church was extended into Russia, and it has remained for our own day to see it rejected in that great country.

The early Greek hymns were in two classes: first, those written in the decaying classical meters, with increasing disregard for the rules of quantity, and, second, those forming a much larger and more important class, Oriental in character and showing

regard for Hebrew models. However, in western Asia in the fourth and fifth centuries, as in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth, there was strong reserve as to the use of hymns; and in the monasteries scruples forbade the chanting of anything but the Psalms. It was only after effective use had been made of hymns by heretics in several different centers that there began to be a change of feeling on the part of the orthodox. The hymns of some Gnostics led Ephraim the Syrian to adopt the meters and rhythms for his church, and the Arian hymns drew the attention of Athanasius at Alexandria and Chrysostom at Constantinople to the hold that this form of worship had on the people.

The oldest Christian hymn in existence is one attributed to Titus Flavius Clemens, Saint Clement of Alexandria (c. 170-c. 220), though from his own words there is reason for thinking that there might have been another and an earlier author. Clement was very studious, and he enumerated at least six eminent teachers who helped to develop his powers. At Alexandria he came under the influence of Pantenus, at the time master of the Catechetical School in the city, and on the retirement of Pantenus for missionary work he himself became director of the institution. He remained in this position until 203, when he was driven forth by the persecution under Severus. Appended to one of his works, *The Tutor* (otherwise translated as *The Instructor* or *The*

Pedagogue), are two poems, one of which was given various translations into English about the middle of the nineteenth century, when John Mason Neale led in the making of notable versions of the Greek hymns. The original hymn is commonly assigned to the very early years of the third century, and the best-known English version is "Shepherd of tender youth," by Henry Martyn Dexter.

Ephraim the Syrian (Ephraem Syrus) (c. 307-373) was the first and the most distinguished representative of hymnody in the Syrian Church. His zeal for theological subjects was stimulated at the Council of Nicæa when he was still a very young man, and in course of time he proved to be a facile writer, contributing much to the solemnity of special occasions. He wrote in Syriac, not only about the great facts in the life of the Saviour but about the experiences of saints and martyrs as well.

The number of Greek hymns that have been preserved is very large, and if all were collected, they would fill several volumes. Prominent in the formative period were Gregory of Nazianzus (Saint Gregory Nazianzen) (c. 330-c. 390) and Anatolius (d. 458). Of the latter little is known, but he gave us the original of "The day is past and over." Gregory was small of stature, but he was brilliant and rhetorical, and in an era of controversy he became outstanding as a defender of the faith. In course of time the bishopric of Sasima, a squalid

village, was forced upon him. Later he was elected Bishop of Constantinople and duly consecrated by order of the second Ecumenical Council (381). Soon afterward, however, objection was made to the act as a violation of the canons which limited a bishop to one diocese. Gregory, too noble for intrigue, resigned and retired to his cell on his paternal estate. In his hymns he used the classical meters, and three of the best have been translated as "All-circling Infinite," "Thee, King Immortal," and "Thee first, O Christ the King."

It was in the eighth century that hymnody in the Eastern Church reached its flowering. Andrew of Jerusalem (d. 732) gave us "Christian, dost thou see them" and John of Damascus (c. 700-c. 775), foremost of Greek theologians and hymn writers, "The day of resurrection" and several other poems only slightly less memorable. Stephen (d. 794), nephew of John, was placed by his uncle in the monastery of Saint Sabas when he was only ten years of age, and he lived there for more than half a century. He is thus known as Stephen the Sabaite. The monastery still stands on a lofty cliff overhanging the ravine of the Kedron, between Jerusalem and the Dead Sea, many of the cells being cut out of solid rock. Stephen's "Art thou weary, art thou languid" is the most restful and appealing lyric in any language on the theme, "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you

rest." The work of all three of these writers was translated by Neale.

HYMNS OF THE WESTERN CHURCH (LATIN)

Latin hymnody may be said to have had its real beginning with the work of Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers (d. 366), and Ambrose, Bishop of Milan (d. 397). In 356 Hilary was banished from his see because of his strong advocacy of Trinitarian doctrines, and he spent the next four years in Asia Minor, where he studied carefully the ritual of the churches. It was doubtless on his return that he wrote the *Book of Hymns* of which Jerome speaks, but none of the pieces undoubtedly his have come down to us. Ambrose improved on the efforts of his predecessor and made the singing of hymns very popular in the church at Milan. He composed both words and music. His compositions are simple and vigorous, with terse statement of the great doctrines of Christianity. The Ambrosian Chant was an antiphonal plain-song arranged for stately effect in choral symphony. It remained, however, for Benedict to give hymnody its full place and order in the ritual. He it was who enjoined that the hymns of Ambrose should be regularly sung in the houses of the order known by his name, in the offices for the canonical hours.

Hymn writing also flourished in Spain in the fifth century, and some of the best Latin hymns are by

Prudentius (c. 348-c. 413), a layman and a late contemporary of Ambrose. The hymns of this writer, about fifteen in number and taken from longer poems, breathe an air of genuine fervor. One of the most finished is that on the birth of Christ, "Bethlehem of Noblest Cities" (*O sola magnarum urbium*); but others have also been justly admired.

Coming down to us from these early centuries is that hymn which is unique in the history of the Christian Church and which has served perhaps as no other as the medium of lofty praise. The *Te Deum* has been associated with the name of Ambrose, but there is no proof that this distinguished author wrote it, and it is quite possible that the first portion at least antedated his work by several decades. Undoubtedly, however, Ambrose helped to give the hymn the place it later came to hold in stately ceremonial. In more recent years it has challenged the powers of some of the ablest of composers.

"Te Deum laudamus, te Dominum confitemur.

Te aeternum Patrem omnis terra veneratur.

Tibi omnes angeli, tibi caeli et universi potestates,

Tibi Cherubim et Seraphim incessabili voce proclamant:

Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth."

The following is the commonly accepted English version:

"We praise thee, O God; we acknowledge thee to be the
Lord.

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All the earth doth worship thee, the Father everlasting.
 To thee all angels cry aloud: the heavens, and all the
 powers therein;
 To thee cherubim and seraphim continually do cry,
 Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth;
 Heaven and earth are full of the majesty of thy glory.
 The glorious company of the apostles praise thee.
 The goodly fellowship of the prophets praise thee.
 The noble army of martyrs praise thee.
 The holy church throughout all the world doth acknowl-
 edge thee
 The Father of an infinite majesty;
 Thine adorable, true, and only Son;
 Also the Holy Ghost the Comforter.
 Thou art the King of Glory, O Christ,
 Thou art the everlasting Son of the Father.
 When thou tookest upon thee to deliver men, thou didst
 humble thyself to be born of a virgin.
 When thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death, thou
 didst open the kingdom of heaven to all believers.
 Thou sittest at the right hand of God, in the glory of
 the Father.
 We believe that thou shalt come to be our Judge.
 We therefore pray thee, help thy servants, whom thou
 hast redeemed with thy precious blood.
 Make them to be numbered with thy Saints in glory
 everlasting.
 O Lord, save thy people, and bless thine heritage.
 Govern them, and lift them up for ever.
 Day by day we magnify thee;
 And we worship thy name, ever, world without end.
 Vouchsafe, O Lord, to keep us this day without sin.
 O Lord, have mercy upon us; have mercy upon us.
 O Lord, let thy mercy be upon us, as our trust is in
 thee.
 O Lord, in thee have I trusted; let me never be con-
 founded."

One can see immediately that this great hymn not only has interest on its own account, but that it has also had far-reaching influence on later literature.

With Gregory the Great (Pope of Rome 590-604) and Venantius Fortunatus (c. 530-609) the medieval period of Latin hymnody may be said to have begun. Gregory, sincere and severe in his practice of the ascetic life, had given the immense wealth left him by his father for the founding of seven monasteries, and in singing as in other things he wrought notable reforms. Finding that the solemnity of worship had become impaired by the introduction of various embellishments, he did away with these, made use of the recitative, and restricted singing in the church to the choir of priests, limiting the congregation to the responses. We may say, accordingly, that the Ambrosian music, which had held sway for two hundred years, was now supplanted by the Gregorian; and the stately chant that bears the name of the Pope became the basis of cathedral music for a thousand years. Fortunatus had for some time an uncertain career; but he was a prolific writer, producing epics and descriptive poems as well as lyrics and epigrams, and for the last ten years of his life he was Bishop of Poitiers. One of his hymns, "The Banner of the King" (*Vexilla regis*), has a rugged grandeur that forces recognition. It was "written in the year 569, when a relic of the true cross, sent by the emperor Justin,

was received in solemn procession at Poitiers,"⁴ and is commonly numbered among the great hymns of the Middle Ages.

Historically important is Notker (d. 912), of the monastery of Saint Gall in Switzerland, who is said to have been led by the sound of a mill-wheel to compose a new kind of hymn known as the sequence. This used a succession of repeated harmonic phrases rising or falling usually by the regular diatonic degrees in the same scale. Somewhat later Adam of Saint Victor (d. 1172), outstanding among medieval poets, made the monastery of Saint Victor, just outside the city of Paris, singularly famous by his hymns.

In general the hymns of the Middle Ages have their own peculiar quality. "The joyful, jubilant tone of the Ambrosian and Prudentian hymns is no longer so prominent: they are set in the key of mystic fervor. Begotten in the cloister, they ring with the soft and subdued but ardent tones of contemplative devotion. The singers linger near the cross, and gaze upon the suffering agonies of its scenes, rather than breathe the clear air of the resurrection morning, or celebrate the triumphant exaltation and reign of Christ. Some of these hymns were by the most subtle theologians and devout saints, and some of them have never been surpassed."⁵

⁴ Germing, p. 31.

⁵ Schaff-Herzog, *Encyclopædia of Religious Knowledge*, II, p. 1049.

Representative of the very best in his age was Bernard of Clairvaux (1091-1153), whose loftiness of character has impressed all succeeding generations. Born of a noble family and educated at the University of Paris, when he was only twenty-three this noble spirit founded at Clairvaux in France a monastery of which he became the first abbot; and within a few years he was not less than the spiritual arbiter of Europe. It was his eloquent preaching that inspired the second crusade. His hymn *Salve caput cruentatum* was translated into German by Paul Gerhardt (1606-1676), the English version, "O sacred head, now wounded," being made from the German in the nineteenth century by James W. Alexander. Bernard also composed a poem of two hundred lines, from which have been taken three hymns—"Jesus, the very thought of thee" (*Jesu, dulcis memoria*), "Jesus, thou Joy of loving hearts" (*Jesu, dulcedo cordium*), and "O Jesus, King most wonderful" (*Jesu, rex admirabilis*). The first and the third of these were given their English rendering in the nineteenth century by Edward Caswall, and the second was translated by Ray Palmer, author of "My faith looks up to Thee."

Contemporary with Bernard of Clairvaux and not to be confused with him was Bernard of Cluny, who was born at Morlaix of English parents and who in the second quarter of the twelfth century was at the Abbey of Cluny, which was then under the

direction of Peter the Venerable and which had an elaborate ritual and a church that was unequaled in France. In this congenial environment Bernard wrote *De Contemptu Mundi*, a satirical poem of three thousand lines on the follies and vices of the age. Suddenly, however, he turned aside from satire and lamentation to sing of the joys of the New Jerusalem; and it was upon this part of the whole, *Laus Patriae Coelestis*, that Neale drew for "Jerusalem the golden," "The world is very evil," "Brief life is here our portion," and "For thee, O dear, dear country," all of which hymns are to be found in collections of the present day.

Other hymns stand out with individual distinction. Comparatively early was the *Veni Creator Spiritus*, which is of date hardly later than the eighth century. Originally there were six four-line stanzas, but a doxology was added later. The *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, "the golden sequence," was said by Archbishop Trench to be "the loveliest of all the hymns in the whole circle of Latin sacred poetry," and he remarked of it further that it could have been composed only by one who had been acquainted with many sorrows, and also with many consolations. It has been assigned to various writers, but the authorship is still uncertain, though the date is hardly earlier than the beginning of the thirteenth century. The five stanzas, with their anaphora and assonance, are singularly effective:

“Veni Sancte Spiritus
Et emitte caelitus
Lucis tuæ radium.
Veni, pater pauperum
Veni, dator munerum,
Veni, lumen cordium.”

The *Stabat mater dolorosa* is the most pathetic hymn of the Middle Ages and perhaps in the entire history of hymnody. It is commonly known simply as the *Stabat mater*, and the companion piece, the *Stabat mater speciosa*, discovered in comparatively recent years, as the *Mater speciosa*. The first was the work of Jacobus de Benedictis (Jacopone da Todi) (c. 1240-1306), and the second probably had the same author. Jacobus was a brilliant lawyer the whole tenor of whose life was changed by the violent death of his wife in the fall of a gallery in a theater. Having spent the years of his young manhood in revelry and dissipation, he now resolved to give himself to contrition and to the vows of religion. For some years he lived a life of painful asceticism, and then he was admitted to the Franciscan order of Minorites. Later, however, aghast at the corruption of the church, he was led to write poems arraigning Pope Boniface VIII and even to join a confederacy that intended to depose the Pontiff. For this he was placed in close confinement and limited to bread and water, for six years, until the death of Boniface. The hardships that Jacobus endured,

Tyndale and other translators of the Bible. Later, as we have seen, men of the universities like Neale and Caswall enriched the national heritage by adaptations from the Greek and the Latin; but their contribution was the effort of scholars working from the top rather than an evolution founded on the broad basis of indigenous growth. A parallel case of development is afforded by another great form of literature, the English drama. Under the influence of humanism, some of the playwrights of the Elizabethan era did indeed draw upon classic sources, but the early mysteries and moralities owed nothing to the drama of Greece or Rome. They were, rather, the budding of the native English genius. What, then, is the importance even of reference to the Greek and Latin hymns in a consideration of English hymnody? This: that in a broad way they give us the background of Christian striving, and furnish a storehouse from which much that is rich is later to come. Even bound up with the first full edition of the Psalter were the translations of a number of the Latin hymns, such as the *Magnificat*, the *Benedicite*, the *Te Deum*, and the *Veni Creator*. There is no proof that these hymns were used at first in the English church services. Their very inclusion under the circumstances, however, serves to show that the break with the Roman Catholic tradition was not quite complete. Thus we have at least a few things that transcend any difference of age or sect and that

are the heritage of the church universal. Native English hymnody, however, was bred in the fires of controversy in the sixteenth century, and it is this development that we are now to study.

II

THE PSALTER

WHILE there were English hymns in existence long before the Reformation, it is not to these that we can look for the origin of the hymnody that we have to-day. For at least three centuries there had been current among the people carols and lullabies based on the events of the Nativity, as well as more secular songs of the feasts of the Christmas season. No one, however, thought of singing any of these in connection with the church service, nor did they give any promise of the hymnody that was to come. It remained for the Reformation to set in motion democratic tendencies; and just as the Latin hymn sung by the choir was characteristic of the old order, so was the English hymn sung by the congregation representative of the new. We have to note, however, that while in Germany there was the development of a rich and original hymnody, in England for two hundred years, and in Scotland still longer, psalmody reigned supreme. To find the reason for this we have to take into account the difference in temperament and the opposing ideals of the two great leaders of Protestantism.

CALVIN VS. LUTHER: THE GENEVAN PSALTER

As Benson has reminded us, the diverse views of Calvin and Luther were nowhere more conspicuous than in their conceptions of Protestant worship. Of immediate and practical importance was the question, What shall the people be permitted and encouraged to sing? Luther, with his love for the old German folk-song and his innate regard for the Roman Catholic ritual, adopted without hesitation the original metrical hymn as a means of spiritual culture. He used, accordingly, not only hymns based on the Scriptures or drawn from Latin sources, but also those that were the sincere expression of German believers. Calvin, on the other hand, had not only been impressed with the frivolity of French popular song, but also had the conviction that the elaborate Roman ritual represented a merely formal religion. Accordingly, he sought to go back as far as possible to the manner and methods of the primitive church, nor would he approve anything that did not have the definite authority of the Scriptures. He would not deny that the New Testament gave authority for the singing of "psalms and hymns and spiritual songs," but he was quite sure that there were no better hymns than those to be found in the Bible, and he established the precedent of turning to the Psalms for words to be chanted or sung in the church service. The result

was that the singing of metrical psalms which he instituted "followed the spread of Calvinistic doctrine through the world as a recognized feature of church order."¹

Psalmody took its rise with the work of Clement Marot, of France, court poet to King Francis I and a writer who showed special ability for the composing of witty ballads and epigrams. Marot was led to become a Huguenot, and he then turned into verses different ones of the psalms, which were set to ballad tunes and sung by the king and the court. Publication in 1542 led to persecution by the Roman authorities, and the poet was forced to flee to Geneva. There he worked in co-operation with Calvin, who immediately discerned his merit; and within a few months there appeared the famous *Genevan Psalter*. Not long thereafter, in 1544, Marot died; but his version of the Psalms was revised and enlarged by Beza at the request of Calvin, and it ran through innumerable editions.

THE STERNHOLD-HOPKINS OR "OLD" VERSION OF THE PSALTER

It was this influence of Marot and Calvin rather than that of Luther that was most potent in England. In 1538, inspired by the Wittenberg hymn books, Myles Coverdale brought out thirteen psalms in metrical form as *Goastly Psalmes and Spirituall*

¹ Benson, Louis F., *The English Hymn*, p. 23.

Songes drawen out of the holy Scripture; but the rather dull booklet made little appeal to the people, and the king soon brought its career to an end by putting it on the list of proscribed publications. Within the next decade, however, Henry VIII died, and the first Act of Uniformity and the adoption of *The Book of Common Prayer* made the Anglican Church more definitely Protestant. Thomas Sternhold, who had been groom of the robes to Henry VIII and who held the same office under young Edward VI, now issued an English version of nineteen psalms with a dedication to the new king. He soon added eighteen more, and then in 1551 appeared an edition with these thirty-seven by him and seven by John Hopkins, a clergyman of Suffolk. In the meantime Sternhold died, and King Edward also died soon after, being succeeded by Mary. In the era of persecution that followed, progress on the work was shifted to the Continent. Some English and Scottish refugees had organized a church at Frankfort-on-the-Main and chosen John Knox as pastor. When the Episcopalians and the Dissenters proved not to get on very well together, the latter, with Knox, withdrew to Geneva. There they were greatly impressed by the singing of the vast congregation under Calvin's leadership, and the next year (1556) they brought out their *Book of Order*, binding with it the psalms of Sternhold and Hopkins "with alterations and additions."

The men who had most to do with the revising and the additions were William Whittingham, afterward dean of Durham, and William Kethe (or Keith), a native of Scotland. On the accession of Elizabeth in 1558 this Genevan Psalmody was accepted in England; and the first complete edition of the Psalter—the Sternhold-Hopkins Version, the so-called Old Version—appeared in 1562. As we have seen, this in its final form was the work not simply of two men but of several.

In these latter days it is the habit of many people to smile at the quaintness and the simplicity of this version of the Psalms. It is a fact that the lines seldom take wing, many being even less than commonplace. No detraction, however, is likely to cavil at such lines as these:

“The Lord descended from above
and bowed the heavens hie:
And underneath his fete he cast
the darkness of the skye.
On Cherubs and on Cherubims,
full royally he rode:
And on the wings of all the windes
came flying all abroad.”

The ordinary level of the verse, however, is represented by the following from Psalm 47:

“Ye people al with one accord
clap hands and eke reioyce:
Be glad and sing unto the Lord,
with sweete and pleasant voice.

For high the Lord and dreadful is,
with wonders manifold:
A mighty king he is truly,
in all the world extold."

The tune "Old Hundred" was originally composed by Louis Bourgeois for Psalm 134 in an enlarged edition of the *Genevan Psalter*, published in 1551. William Kethe had this tune in mind in connection with Psalm 100, with which it later came to be especially connected. His version of this psalm is not in the 1562 edition of the *Psalter*. In 1564, however, it found its way into the appendix, and in an edition the next year it took its proper place. The poem represents at its best the work of these men of the sixteenth century, and still finds a place in well-edited hymnals. It is here given with the modern spelling and punctuation:

"All people that on earth do dwell,
Sing to the Lord with cheerful voice;
Him serve with fear, his praise forth tell,
Come ye before him and rejoice.

"The Lord ye know is God indeed;
Without our aid he did us make;
We are his folk, he doth us feed,
And for his sheep he doth us take.

"O enter then his gates with praise,
Approach with joy his courts unto;
Praise, laud, and bless his Name always,
For it is seemly so to do.

“For why? the Lord our God is good,
 His mercy is forever sure;
 His truth at all times firmly stood,
 And shall from age to age endure.”

In Shakespeare's *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (ii, 1) there is an interesting reference which shows us that both the poem and the tune soon impressed the Elizabethans by the dignity that they bear with us to-day. They are mentioned as the very opposite of a light popular song of the day. Mrs. Ford and Mrs. Page are discussing the letters received from Sir John Falstaff, and the former says, “I would have sworn his disposition would have gone to the truth of his words; but they do no more adhere and keep place together than the Hundredth Psalm to the tune of ‘Green Sleeves.’”

ROUS'S VERSION AND THE BAY PSALM BOOK

Sternhold and Hopkins opened the floodgates, and since their time hundreds of men have tried their hand at versifying the Psalms. Julian lists three hundred and twenty-six separate publications of substantially the entire Psalter in English alone, besides about one hundred and twenty minor versifications. Of special interest is the development in Scotland, which was on its own lines though contemporaneous with that in England. The Scottish Church adopted one hundred and twenty-nine psalms from Anglo-Genevan sources, including

forty-two, with some alterations, from Sternhold and Hopkins; and it added twenty-one of its own, completing the work near the close of 1564. In 1600 King James proposed to the Assembly the revision of its psalm-book, undertaking to conduct the work himself. When he had proceeded as far as Psalm 35, the work was interrupted by his death, but it was continued by William Alexander, afterward Earl of Stirling. Charles I undertook to force on the people the "Royal Psalter" thus produced; but they would have none of it, speaking of it as "the Mass in English." One thing that it did, however, was to pave the way for Rous's version.

Francis Rous was a Presbyterian lawyer. He spent several terms in Parliament under James I and Charles I, and also served as provost of Eton College. Later he was a member of Cromwell's privy council, and he was given the privilege of sitting with a few laymen in the Westminster Assembly. When Parliament was not in session for twelve years under Charles, he spent much time in turning the Psalms into meter. Meanwhile the version of Sternhold and Hopkins was beginning to be regarded as obsolete. When, then, the Westminster Assembly was called and had to consider the matter of a new version, of those submitted that by Rous was the one approved (1646). For the next fifty years his was the version in common use

in England. The Scotch, with the Puritan demand for the greatest possible literalness, spent considerable time in amending and revising it, but at length gave it general adoption, and the version thus issued is still in use in Scotland and in American congregations of the Covenanters.

Rous's Psalter is not perfect; some of the lines show great straining after effect. At the same time it is obvious that any work that bears so well the test of time must have its merits, and something of its quality may be seen from its rendering of Psalm 23, the simple dignity of which has made it very difficult for many who have sought to paraphrase it:

"The Lord's my Shepherd, I'll not want;
He makes me down to lie
In pastures green, he leadeth me
The quiet waters by.

"My soul he doth restore again;
And me to walk doth make
Within the paths of righteousness,
E'en for his own Name's sake.

"Yea, though I walk in death's dark vale,
Yet will I fear none ill;
For thou art with me, and thy rod
And staff me comfort still.

"My table thou hast furnishèd
In presence of my foes;
My head thou dost with oil anoint,
And my cup overflows.

“Goodness and mercy all my life
Shall surely follow me;
And in God’s house for evermore
My dwelling place shall be.”

Meanwhile there had appeared, in 1640, the *Bay Psalm Book*, the first book printed in America. The version of the Psalms used by the early colonists in New England was that of Ainsworth, which was prepared for the refugees in Holland, published eight years before the departure of the Pilgrims in 1620, and taken by them to the New World. Longfellow, in “The Courtship of Miles Standish,” speaks of Priscilla as having open before her “the well-worn psalm-book of Ainsworth,” though it may be remarked in passing that the poet is not quite on such firm ground when he assigns to Luther the music for the hundredth Psalm. In 1636 a committee to revise the Psalter was appointed by the Congregational churches in the vicinity of Boston; and William Welde of Roxbury, Richard Mather of Dorchester, and John Eliot, the apostle to the Indians, were those directly responsible for the work. The book was printed by President Dunster of Harvard on a press sent out from Holland, and copies of the early editions are now naturally exceedingly rare and valuable. If this version of the Psalter, however, is compared with the best of others, it can hardly be maintained that it has any great distinguishing excellence. As in

the case of the Scottish recension of Rous's version, the ideal is not poetic or lyrical quality but literalness. The following stanzas are fairly typical of its quality:

"The heavens doe declare
the majesty of God:
also the firmament shews forth
his handy-work abroad.

"Day speaks to day, knowledge
night hath to night declar'd.
There neither speach nor language is,
where their voice is not heard.

"Through all the earth their line
is gone forth, & unto
the utmost end of all the world,
their speeches reach also."

TATE AND BRADY: THE "NEW VERSION"

In 1696, after there had been numerous other versions of the Psalter, there appeared one that was of more than usual significance and that, in fact, had close touch with the theme of our next chapter. This was *A new Version of the Psalms of David*, the authors of which were Nahum Tate, poet laureate under William III, and Nicholas Brady, a royal chaplain and the holder also of a London living. The designation given to the work has ever since clung to it as distinguishing it from the "Old Version" of Sternhold and Hopkins. The New Psalter never succeeded wholly in displacing the

avored older versions; nevertheless it had royal approval, it more and more made its way in the vicinity of London, and it helped to give to the Church of England a new standard of psalmody, that of a paraphrase rather than a literal rendering of a text.

What immediately impresses us about the work is its style. It has a fluency, a lyrical quality, that compels recognition. William Beveridge, Bishop of Saint Asaph, voicing the objection of many, said: "In this New Translation there is so much regard had to the Poetry, the Style, the Running of the Verse, and such-like inconsiderable Circumstances, that it is almost impossible to avoid going from the Text, and altering the true Sense and Meaning of it."² There is some ground for this very natural criticism; yet it is the poetry and the "running of the verse" that give the work its distinct merits. Sometimes a poem is so subjective that it is difficult to draw a line between it and a hymn by Wesley or Montgomery. Sometimes, indeed, there is no line, so that even to-day several of the pieces find a place in the best hymn-books. Here, for instance, is the rendering of Psalm 51:

"Have mercy, Lord, on me,
As thou wert ever kind;
Let me, oppressed with loads of guilt,
Thy wonted mercy find.

² Quoted by Benson, *The English Hymn*, p. 50.

"Against thee, Lord, alone,
 And only in thy sight,
 Have I transgressed; and though condemn'd
 Must own thy judgments right.

"Blot out my crying sins,
 Nor me in anger view;
 Create in me a heart that's clean,
 An upright mind renew.

"Withdraw not thou thy help,
 Nor cast me from thy sight;
 Nor let thy Holy Spirit take
 His everlasting flight.

"The joy thy favors give
 Let me again obtain,
 And thy free Spirit's firm support
 My fainting soul sustain."

It is evident that we have here something very different from a close rendering of the text of a psalm, also something that looks forward in the progress of hymnody. It would be difficult, moreover, to maintain that the poet has departed from the spirit of the original. Not quite so subjective but quite as lyrical was Tate's hymn of the Advent, which appeared four years after the New Version in a supplement to that work.

"While shepherds watch'd their flocks by night,
 All seated on the ground,
 The angel of the Lord came down,
 And glory shone around.

“‘Fear not,’ said he, for mighty dread
Had seized their troubled mind,
‘Glad tidings of great joy I bring
To you and all mankind.

“‘To you in David’s town this day
Is born of David’s line
The Saviour, who is Christ, the Lord,
And this shall be the sign:

“‘The heavenly Babe you there shall find
To human view displayed,
All meanly wrapped in swathing bands,
And in a manger laid.’

“Thus spake the seraph, and forthwith
Appeared a shining throng
Of angels, praising God, who thus
Addressed their joyful song:

“‘All glory be to God on high,
And to the earth be peace;
Good will henceforth from heav’n to man
Begin, and never cease.’”

EVOLUTION OF STANDARD METRICAL FORMS

If we study the poem just quoted, we shall observe that it is written in the iambic measure, the accent falling on every second syllable, and that the first and third lines consist of four feet and the second and fourth of three; that is, the first and third are iambic tetrameters, and the second and fourth are iambic trimeters. With its simple, strong movement the iambus makes more than other poetic

feet for dignity, and it has been especially serviceable in hymnody. All the selections mentioned in this chapter—in fact, all the poems in all the versions of the Psalter—employ it; and so do all the hymns of Watts and the great majority of those of other writers. Since, moreover, hymn books were for a long time not generally available, it was necessary for the parish clerk to give out two lines of a hymn at a time. That necessitated emphasis on a few standard tunes, and the limited number of tunes required that the verse forms also be reduced to the minimum. Accordingly, for a long time there were only three, all in the iambic measure; these became specially known as Long Meter, Common Meter, and Short Meter.

Common Meter was the norm, and it was the form employed in Tate's Christmas hymn. If, now, the second and fourth lines of Common Meter are lengthened by a foot, so that all four of the lines in a stanza are tetrameters, the result is Long Meter, as in "All people that on earth do dwell." We should naturally expect Short Meter to be a succession of trimeters; but it was soon realized that four very short lines coming together tended toward doggerel; accordingly, Short Meter was strengthened by the irregularity of having the third line remain a tetrameter. An example will be found in "Have mercy, Lord, on me," the first poem quoted from Tate and Brady.

These special verse forms have a long history. That of Long Meter takes us back certainly as far as Ambrose. Common Meter, which was used exclusively in Rous's version, received re-enforcement, and perhaps even its origin, from the fact that its verse form was the basis of English popular poetry. Thus it is that we have connection with the English and Scottish popular ballads.

"It is a tale of Robin Hood,
Which I to you will tell,
Which being rightly understood,
I know will please you well.

"In courtship and magnificence
His carriage won him praise,
And greater favor with his prince
Than any in his days."

If, now, we take illustrations from later English hymns, we may graphically represent the discussion as follows:

Long Meter:

"Praise God, from whom all blessings flow;
Praise him, all creatures here below;
Praise him above, ye heavenly host;
Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

Common Meter:

"All hail the power of Jesus' name!
Let angels prostrate fall;
Bring forth the royal diadem,
And crown him Lord of all."

worthy to behold thy glory, thy blessedness, thy beauty, thy gates and walls, thy courts and thy many mansions, thy most noble citizens, and thy most powerful King, our Lord, in his splendor. Thy walls [are made] of precious stones, thy gates of the richest pearls, thy streets of the purest gold, in which Alleluia is sung with harmony and without ceasing; thy many mansions built on square stones, made of sapphires bound together with golden tiles, in which nothing of the world intrudes and in which nothing unclean dwells. Thou art resplendent and delightful in thy joys, Mother Jerusalem. In thee is nothing such as we suffer here, such as we see in this unhappy life. Not in thee is darkness, or night, or any distinction of years. There shines not in thee the light of lamp, or the splendor of the moon, or the brightness of the stars;

²This work is not really accessible in either the original Latin or in translation. However, the necessary Latin excerpt is to be found in Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*, under the article on "Jerusalem, my happy home," where also the whole of F. B. P.'s poem is given. The translation of the passage given herewith is by the author.

"Our sweet is mixed with bitter gaule
 Our pleasure is but paine
 Our ioyes scarce last the lookeing on
 Our sorrowes still remaine

"But there they liue in such delight
 Such pleasure and such play
 As that to them a thousand yeares
 Doth seeme as yeaster day

"Thy gardens and thy gallant walks
 Continually are greene
 There groes such sweete and pleasant flowers
 As noe where eles are scene

"There cinomon there sugar groes
 There narde and balme abound
 What tounge can tell or hart conceiue
 The ioyes that there are found

"Quyt through the streetes with siluer sound
 The flood of life doe flowe
 Upon whose bankes on everie syde
 The wood of life doth growe

but God from God, the Light of Light, the Sun of Righteousness ever illumines thee. The Lamb, immaculate and glistening, is thy clear and most gladsome light. Thy refulgence, thy brightness, thy every good gift, is the unfailing contemplation of this most glorious king. The King of Kings is in the midst of thee, and the train of him in the circle of him. There are the hymn-singing choirs of angels; there the fellowship of citizens above; there the sweet progression of all from this sad wandering to thy ever-returning joys; there the foreseeing chorus of the prophets; there the twelve apostles; there the victorious host of unnumbered martyrs; there the blessed assembly of the redeemed and purified; there true and perfect monks; there the holy women who have overcome the weakness of the flesh and the world; there the young men and maidens who have exceeded their years with holy living. There are the sheep and lambs that already have passed beyond the snares of earthly pleasure. All exult in their own dwellings, each differing from another in glory but all having a common joy. There peace reigns complete and perfect, because there is God, whom they see all in all without end; and ever with seeing they glow with devotion to him; and they love and praise, praise and love. Every labor of theirs is the praise of God, without ceasing, without intermission, without labor. Happy would I be, yea, happy forever, if after the dissolution of this body I might but hear those songs of celestial melody, which are sung to the praise of the Eternal King, by those citizens of the heavenly country and the vast concourse of blessed spirits. Fortunate I, yea, blessed beyond degree, if I might but be able to sing those songs, and stand before my King, my God, and my Leader, to behold him in his glory, as he deigned to promise, saying, *Father, I will that those whom thou hast given me may be with me, that they may behold my glory, which I had with thee before the founding of the world; or otherwise, Whoso*

“‘Fear not,’ said he, for mighty dread
Had seized their troubled mind,
‘Glad tidings of great joy I bring
To you and all mankind.

“‘To you in David’s town this day
Is born of David’s line
The Saviour, who is Christ, the Lord,
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All meanly wrapped in swathing bands,
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"All hail the power of Jesus' name!
Let angels prostrate fall;
Bring forth the royal diadem,
And crown him Lord of all."

Short Meter:

“Come, we that love the Lord,
 And let our joys be known;
 Join in a song of sweet accord,
 And thus surround the throne.”

Quaint was the custom in the later days of Psalmody of writing words which were adapted to Long Meter but which with certain omissions might also be used with Common-Meter tunes. Thus Richard Baxter wrote:

“Blest is the man to whom the Lord
 Imputes not guilt of [any] sin,
 Nor calls him to a strict account
 What he hath [thought and] done and been.”

III

THE EVOLUTION OF THE ENGLISH HYMN

IN a book of manuscripts in the British Museum has been found a hymn the historical importance of which it would be difficult to exaggerate. It has come down to us from the very close of the sixteenth century and bears the initials "F. B. P." There are twenty-six stanzas. Twelve of the more representative of these are as follows:

"Hierusalem my happy home
When shall I come to thee
When shall my sorrowes haue an end
Thy ioyes when shall I see

"O happie harbour of the saints
O sweet and pleasant soyle
In thee noe sorrow may be founde
Noe greefe, noe care, noe toyle

"Thy wales are made of precious stones
Thy bulwarkes Diamondes square
Thy gates are of right orient pearle
Exceedinge riche and rare

"Thy terrettes and thy pinacles
With carbuncles doe shine
Thy verie streetes are paved with gould
Surpassinge cleare and fine

"Our sweet is mixed with bitter gaule
 Our pleasure is but paine
 Our ioyes scarce last the lookeing on
 Our sorrowes still remaine

"But there they liue in such delight
 Such pleasure and such play
 As that to them a thousand yeares
 Doth seeme as yeaster day

"Thy gardens and thy gallant walks
 Continually are greene
 There groes such sweete and pleasant flowers
 As noe where eles are seene

"There cinomon there sugar groes
 There narde and balme abound
 What tounge can tell or hart conceiue
 The ioyes that there are found

"Quyt through the streetes with siluer sound
 The flood of life doe flowe
 Upon whose bankes on everie syde
 The wood of life doth growe

"There trees for euermore beare fruite
 And euermore doe springe
 There euermore the Angels sit
 And evermore doe singe

"Our Ladie singes magnificat
 With tune surpassinge sweete
 And all the virginns beare their parts
 Sitinge aboue her feete

"Hierusalem my happie home
 Would god I were in thee
 Would god my woes were at an end
 Thy ioyes that I might see."

We recognize here at once an early form of several well-known English hymns. Just who "F. B. P." was we do not know, but it is now generally accepted that the letters stand for *Francis Baker, Pater* or *Priest*. Any description of the New Jerusalem goes back ultimately to the closing chapters of the book of Revelation. The source that more immediately influenced medieval thought, however, was a glowing and enthusiastic passage in the *Liber Meditationum*¹ of Augustine. In translation this appears somewhat as follows:

Mother Jerusalem, sacred city of God, happy would I be, yea, happy throughout eternity, if I might but be worthy to behold thy glory, thy blessedness, thy beauty, thy gates and walls, thy courts and thy many mansions, thy most noble citizens, and thy most powerful King, our Lord, in his splendor. Thy walls [are made] of precious stones, thy gates of the richest pearls, thy streets of the purest gold, in which Alleluia is sung with harmony and without ceasing; thy many mansions built on square stones, made of sapphires bound together with golden tiles, in which nothing of the world intrudes and in which nothing unclean dwells. Thou art resplendent and delightful in thy joys, Mother Jerusalem. In thee is nothing such as we suffer here, such as we see in this unhappy life. Not in thee is darkness, or night, or any distinction of years. There shines not in thee the light of lamp, or the splendor of the moon, or the brightness of the stars;

¹This work is not really accessible in either the original Latin or in translation. However, the necessary Latin excerpt is to be found in Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*, under the article on "Jerusalem, my happy home," where also the whole of F. B. P.'s poem is given. The translation of the passage given herewith is by the author.

but God from God, the Light of Light, the Sun of Righteousness ever illumines thee. The Lamb, immaculate and glistening, is thy clear and most gladsome light. Thy refulgence, thy brightness, thy every good gift, is the unfailing contemplation of this most glorious king. The King of Kings is in the midst of thee, and the train of him in the circle of him. There are the hymn-singing choirs of angels; there the fellowship of citizens above; there the sweet progression of all from this sad wandering to thy ever-returning joys; there the foreseeing chorus of the prophets; there the twelve apostles; there the victorious host of unnumbered martyrs; there the blessed assembly of the redeemed and purified; there true and perfect monks; there the holy women who have overcome the weakness of the flesh and the world; there the young men and maidens who have exceeded their years with holy living. There are the sheep and lambs that already have passed beyond the snares of earthly pleasure. All exult in their own dwellings, each differing from another in glory but all having a common joy. There peace reigns complete and perfect, because there is God, whom they see all in all without end; and ever with seeing they glow with devotion to him; and they love and praise, praise and love. Every labor of theirs is the praise of God, without ceasing, without intermission, without labor. Happy would I be, yea, happy forever, if after the dissolution of this body I might but hear those songs of celestial melody, which are sung to the praise of the Eternal King, by those citizens of the heavenly country and the vast concourse of blessed spirits. Fortunate I, yea, blessed beyond degree, if I might but be able to sing those songs, and stand before my King, my God, and my Leader, to behold him in his glory, as he deigned to promise, saying, *Father, I will that those whom thou hast given me may be with me, that they may behold my glory, which I had with thee before the founding of the world; or otherwise, Whoso*

serves me, whoso follows me, where I am there also shall my servant be; and again, Whoso chooses me shall be chosen by my father, and I will choose him, and manifest myself unto him.

It is this passage that seems to have suggested a hymn on Paradise, *Ad perennis vitae fontem*, found among the poems of Cardinal Peter Damiani (c. 988-1072), and there was, of course, the notable portion of *De Contemptu Mundi*, by Bernard of Cluny, that later became the source of "Jerusalem the Golden." Nor can it be maintained with certainty that "F. B. P.'s" poem was the very first rendering in English. In 1585 there appeared a hymn by W. Prid on the New Jerusalem, "faithfully translated out of S. Augustine his book entituled *Speculum peccatoris*." This poem is somewhat longer than that by "F. B. P.," consisting of one hundred and seventy-six lines, but, except for the first line, it does not quite secure the firmness of poetic sweep possessed by the other poem, as may be seen from the following stanzas, which are among the best:

"O Mother dear, Jerusalem
Jehovas throne on hie:
O Sacred Cittie, Queene and Wife,
Of Christ eternally.

"My hart doth long to see thy face,
my soul doth still desire,
Thy glorious beautie to behold,
my mind is set on fire.

"Thy port, thy shape, thy stately grace,
 thy fauour faire in deede:
 Thy pleasant hew and countenance
 all others doth excede."

It is quite possible that the two poems had a common English source; it is also possible that "F. B. P." found W. Prid's poem and worked it over. At any rate, the two versions were combined in the course of the seventeenth century, the union of the two being attributed to David Dickson (1583-1663), a Scottish Presbyterian minister.

"O Mother dear, Jerusalem!
 When shall I come to thee?
 When shall my sorrows have an end,
 Thy joys, when shall I see?
 O happy harbor of God's saints!
 O sweet and pleasant soil!
 In thee no sorrow may be found—
 No grief, no care, no toil."

It thus appears that by the beginning of the seventeenth century the idea of composing original hymns in English had impressed itself upon at least a few minds, though as yet there was no hope of having them used in the church service. In general, however, the word meant at the time something quite different from what it means with us. It denoted a religious ode; thus Spenser has among his "Fowre Hymnes" one "In Honour of Heavenly Love," and Crashaw wrote a "Hymne to St. Teresa." Yet there were exceptions, and sometimes the word was

employed in the more special sense. Ben Jonson has three hymns in his *Underwoods*, and one of these, "I sing the birth was born to-night," is still used occasionally. John Donne's "Wilt thou forgive" was sung in his presence by the choristers of Saint Paul's Cathedral. Thomas Campion included in his *Two Bookes of Ayres* (c. 1613) "Pure Hymns, such as the Seventh Day loves"; and at least a few of his lyrics are still current and available, the chief one being "View me, Lord, a work of thine."

Quite apart from other things at the time and of more than ordinary significance was George Wither's *Hymnes and Songs of the Church* (1623). This is often spoken of as the first book of hymns in the language. Such a designation is both correct and misleading. It was indeed the first publication that showed a rounded conception of the character and office of the hymn; it was not the first that received any degree of acceptance in worship. The work is in two parts, the first consisting of paraphrases from the Scriptures, and the second of hymns for festivals, holy days, and other special occasions of the church. While the latter show no great poetic quality or other distinguishing excellence, they do have at least the tone of simple piety. Unfortunately, the zeal of the author defeated its purpose. With his desire for formal recognition and in pressing need of money, Wither

managed to secure from James I a patent that his book should regularly be bound with all copies of the Psalter issued. This immediately awakened opposition on the part of the Company of Stationers, and every possible means was used to defeat the purpose of the patent until at length it was revoked. As a result the book had little of the influence it might otherwise have had and soon passed into oblivion.

The work of the next thirty years showed little advance toward a freer hymnody. Puritanism was ascendant, and it showed no disposition toward liberalism. The country was torn by civil strife, and Milton, the supreme poet of the age, gave his sight and his strength to controversy. The *Bay Psalm Book* and Rous's version of the Psalter both appeared within the period; but, as we have seen, the one sought greater literalness, and the other was revised by the Scottish Church to the same end. Cromwell's soldiers might sing and keep their powder dry, but they were concerned not with originality but with another and a very different objective.

"Let God arise, and scatterèd
Let all his enemies be;
And let all those that do him hate
Before his presence flee!"

With the Restoration, however, there were signs of a change. Puritanism as such was overthrown,

and Psalmody began to be decadent. While the Conventicle Act and the Five-Mile Act were in the nature of persecution, once more in the Established Church there might be something of "the beauty of holiness," and here and there on the part of the Dissenters was a yearning for more spontaneity in worship.

Three influences, as Benson has pointed out, account for the defection from the old Psalmody and the groping toward something better. First was the desire for an enhanced literary quality. The Puritan demand for literalness had led to the inclusion in recent versions of many lines that were too crude to satisfy the taste of the new day, and thus it was, as we have seen, that there appeared in 1696 Tate and Brady's *New Version*. A *Supplement* to this in 1703 was authorized by the Queen and Council for use in churches. The hymns included were mainly paraphrases of passages of Scripture, and while they may not have been widely used in worship, they looked to the future and helped to temper opposition. One was "While Shepherds watch'd their Flocks by Night," another was a hymn for Easter-Day, "Since Christ, our Passover, is slain," and three were for Holy Communion. The second impulse making for change was the desire to accommodate the words of the Psalter to the needs of the time. As Bacon had observed, there were in David's psalms "as many hearselike airs as

carols," and a congregation could not count on receiving inspiration from them. Standard versions, moreover, omitted any definite reference to Christ. Outstanding among those who sought to change this situation was John Patrick, "Preacher to the Charter-House, London," who in 1679 published *A Century of select Psalms and portions of the Psalms of David, especially those of praise*. He did not hesitate to introduce the name of Christ; and Watts, of whom he was the special forerunner, well said of him that "he hath made use of the present language of Christianity in several Psalms, and left out many of the Judaisms." Within twelve years the book was in its fifth edition, and its popularity in Nonconformist circles did much to undermine the supremacy of the *Old Version* in the Church of England. The third influence was the disposition to paraphrase portions of the Bible other than the Psalms, especially the evangelical hymns of the New Testament. This we have already seen exemplified to some extent in Tate and Brady. A bold forerunner of these men, however, was William Barton, described as a "conforming Puritan" minister, who as early as 1659 brought out *A Century of Select Hymns*, in the preface to which he took a strong stand in favor of hymns, provided only that they be founded on Scripture. Some unfriendly influences retarded the progress of Barton's work; nevertheless, it clearly marks the transition from the

metrical psalm to the hymn and was destined to have great influence.

Several other individual efforts call for consideration. The General Baptists opposed "promiscuous singing" and the Society of Friends "conjoint singing"; but Richard Baxter among the Presbyterians and Benjamin Keach among the Particular Baptists took a definite stand for the use of original hymns. Samuel Crossman, a minister who was ejected in 1662 but who later conformed and became Dean of Bristol, in 1664 published *The Young Man's Monitor*, to which was appended *The Young Man's Meditation*, containing some poems which were clearly hymns in the modern sense; and as much or more might be said of the *Devotions* (1668) of John Austin, a minister who entered the Roman Church, and whose work, differently edited for Anglicans and Catholics, seems to have been well received by both. Special significance attaches to the work of John Mason, who in 1683 published his *Spiritual Songs*, the individual pieces being in common meter and numbered as in a hymn book. Mason worked within the limits of the Church of England, but his friendship with Richard Baxter was notable, and the great circulation of his hymns was among the Nonconformists. His book was in its eighth edition by the time the Hymns of Watts appeared,² it had special influence on Watts, and it

² Benson, *The English Hymn*, p. 71.

“must be credited with a considerable share both in molding and in popularizing the English Hymn.” Not quite so well known to the public, but similarly important for its influence upon Watts, was a booklet issued in 1697 by Joseph Stennett, a learned Baptist minister of London, *Hymns in commemoration of the Sufferings of our Blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, compos’d for the celebration of his Holy Supper*. In the first edition there were thirty-seven hymns, increased in the third edition to fifty. Stennett in his preface justified congregational singing and some of his lines were later appropriated by Watts.

Not more far-reaching at the time than the work of Mason but of special interest to us to-day is that of Thomas Ken (1637-1711). This writer, the most eminent of the non-juring bishops, was educated at Winchester College and at Oxford, and ordained in 1662. After ten years, in 1672, he returned to Winchester as a prebendary of the cathedral, chaplain to the bishop, and fellow of Winchester College. Here he spent several years, composing hymns and preparing a *Manual of Prayers for the Use of the Scholars of Winchester College* (1674). In 1679 he was appointed by Charles II chaplain to Princess Mary, but he incurred the displeasure of William of Orange and the next year was back in England. In 1684 he became Bishop of Bath and Wells; and in 1688,

when James II reissued the Declaration of Indulgence, he was one of seven bishops who refused to publish it. At the Revolution he took the position that, having sworn allegiance to James, he could not conscientiously take the oath to William; and he lost his bishopric. His later years were spent in retirement at Longleat in Wiltshire with Lord Weymouth, a friend of his college days. Macaulay said of him, "His moral character seems to approach, as near as human infirmity permits, to the ideal perfection of Christian virtue."

In his *Manual* Ken gave the injunction, "Be sure to sing the Morning and Evening Hymn in your chamber devoutly." The two hymns thus referred to, "Awake, my soul, and with the sun," and "Glory to thee, my God, this night" (frequently edited as "All praise to thee, my God, this night"), were not included in the *Manual* until 1694, but they were evidently used by the students soon after Ken became fellow of Winchester College. They show not so much the influence of Puritan antecedents as of the Roman Catholic *Breviary*. Each consisted of several stanzas and both concluded with the doxology that is now known throughout Christendom and that is sung every Sabbath by millions of voices.

"Glory to thee, my God, this night,
For all the blessings of the light:
Keep me, O keep me, King of kings,
Beneath thine own Almighty wings.

"Forgive me, Lord, for thy dear Son,
The ill which I this day have done;
That with the world, myself, and thee,
I, ere I sleep, at peace may be.

"Teach me to live, that I may dread
The grave as little as my bed;
Teach me to die, that so I may
Rise glorious at the Judgment Day.

"Be thou my Guardian while I sleep;
Thy watchful station near me keep;
My heart with love celestial fill,
And guard me from th' approach of ill.

"Lord, let my soul forever share
The bliss of thy paternal care:
'Tis heaven on earth, 'tis heaven above,
To see thy face, and sing thy love.

"Praise God, from whom all blessings flow;
Praise him, all creatures here below;
Praise him above, ye heavenly host,
Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

Early in the next century a distinguished name, Joseph Addison, was added to the roll of English writers of hymns. In general the greater literary figures have had little touch with this field. Their genius has shrunk from a form of writing largely associated with Dissenters and frequently admitting crude effects. As we proceed, however, we shall have to consider, among others, Cowper, Newman, and Tennyson; and it was to the *Spectator*, which

began to appear in 1711, that Addison contributed his hymns. These were not many—six in all—but they included the great Creation hymn, “The spacious firmament on high,” a version of Psalm 23, “The Lord my pasture shall prepare,” and “When all thy mercies, O my God,” this last being an enthusiastic hymn of praise and consecration. When these appeared, Watts had already assured the future of original hymnody, but Addison assisted nobly with the force of his prestige. His was the task of giving to England a new ideal of Puritan culture—that of a man of learning and integrity who could also respond to the wit and humor of the ages. His shafts encouraged virtuous living, and his own example was one of piety and rectitude.

“When all thy mercies, O my God,
My rising soul surveys,
Transported with the view, I’m lost
In wonder, love, and praise.

“Unnumbered comforts on my soul
Thy tender care bestowed,
Before my infant heart conceived
From whom those comforts flowed.

“Ten thousand thousand precious gifts
My daily thanks employ;
Nor is the least a cheerful heart
That tastes those gifts with joy.

WATTS

Isaac Watts (1674-1748) was born at Southampton, the son of a deacon in the Independent Church, who himself had some talent for poetry and who at one time was imprisoned for his convictions. As a young man he was offered education at one of the universities on condition that he prepare for the Anglican ministry, but he refused. Having attended the Nonconformist academy at Stoke Newington, London, a little later he became a tutor there in the family of Sir John Hartopp. In this employment he remained six years, writing books on logic and elementary science in addition to his regular duties, his assiduity being such that his health was undermined. Having previously served as assistant, in 1702 he became pastor of the Independent congregation in Mark Lane, London, but repeated illness forced him to give up the work after ten years. He then retired to the beautiful home of Sir Thomas Abney at Abney Park, invited as he supposed, to spend a week, and having no idea that he would remain for thirty-six years.

It was in the enthusiasm of youth that Watts entered upon his career as a hymn writer, and some of his best productions were those of his young manhood. When he was not more than eighteen years of age, he expressed to his father his irritation at the unmelodious hymns sung at the Nonconformist

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My daily thanks employ;
Nor is the least a cheerful heart
That tastes those gifts with joy.

“Through every period of my life
Thy goodness I’ll pursue;
And after death, in distant worlds,
The glorious theme renew.

“Through all eternity, to thee
A joyful song I’ll raise;
But, oh, eternity’s too short
To utter all thy praise.”

IV

ISAAC WATTS AND HIS SCHOOL

THE early years of the eighteenth century were in England a period of materialism and compromise. A spirit of self-interest pervaded both church and state, and principle was subordinated to expediency. The day of Puritanism was over; complacency succeeded a great war of ideals; faith retreated before the sway of Deism. Alexander Pope became the chief poet of the age.

In spite of the current rationalism, however, there was still interest in religion. The people at large knew little of Deism or Platonism, and their spiritual striving was simple and sincere. As we have seen, moreover, by the close of the seventeenth century the Psalters were losing ground, and the idea of using original hymns was making its way, though in the Established Church, and even among many Dissenters, the innovation was opposed as a profanation of the service. What was needed was some strong man to give unity and point to individual compositions and to popularize the new form. The man was already on the scene in the person of Isaac Watts, regarded by many as the foremost of English hymn writers.

WATTS

Isaac Watts (1674-1748) was born at Southampton, the son of a deacon in the Independent Church, who himself had some talent for poetry and who at one time was imprisoned for his convictions. As a young man he was offered education at one of the universities on condition that he prepare for the Anglican ministry, but he refused. Having attended the Nonconformist academy at Stoke Newington, London, a little later he became a tutor there in the family of Sir John Hartopp. In this employment he remained six years, writing books on logic and elementary science in addition to his regular duties, his assiduity being such that his health was undermined. Having previously served as assistant, in 1702 he became pastor of the Independent congregation in Mark Lane, London, but repeated illness forced him to give up the work after ten years. He then retired to the beautiful home of Sir Thomas Abney at Abney Park, invited as he supposed, to spend a week, and having no idea that he would remain for thirty-six years.

It was in the enthusiasm of youth that Watts entered upon his career as a hymn writer, and some of his best productions were those of his young manhood. When he was not more than eighteen years of age, he expressed to his father his irritation at the unmelodious hymns sung at the Nonconformist

meetings, and was met by the challenge, "Make some yourself, then." He responded with "Behold the glories of the Lamb," which was sung with pleasure by the people at a meeting soon after. The young author had found what was to be his life-work. His later works include *Horae Lyricae* (1706), *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (1707), and *The Psalms of David Imitated* (1719); but he also wrote *Divine and Moral Songs for Children* and three volumes of *Sermons*, in which he printed hymns that were appropriate to the subjects considered.

It was in the excellent Preface to *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* that Watts stated his theory, and he left no doubt as to his position. Having spoken of Psalmody as the most "unhappily managed" of all current religious solemnities, he proceeded to enlarge upon what had previously been said by John Patrick about the inadequacy of sacred song in the churches:

I have been long convinc'd, that one great Occasion of this Evil arises from the Matter and Words to which we confine all our Songs. Some of 'em are almost opposite to the Spirit of the Gospel: Many of them foreign to the State of the New-Testament, and widely different from the present Circumstances of Christians. Hence it comes to pass that when spiritual Affections are excited within us, and our souls are raised a little above this earth in the beginning of a Psalm, we are check'd on a sudden in our Ascent toward Heaven by some Expressions that

are more suited to the Days of *Carnal Ordinances*, and fit only to be sung in the *Worldly Sanctuary*. When we are just entring into an Evangelic Frame by some of the Glories of the Gospel presented in the brightest Figures of *Judaism*, yet the very next Line perhaps which the Clerk parcels out unto us, hath something in it so extremely Jewish and cloudy, that darkens our Sight of God the Saviour: Thus by keeping too close to *David* in the House of God, the Vail of *Moses* is thrown over our Hearts. While we are kindling into divine Love by the Meditations of the *loving kindness of God, and the Multitude of his tender Mercies*, within a few Verses some dreadful Curse against Men is propos'd to our lips; *That God would add Iniquity unto their Iniquity, not let 'em come into his Righteousness, but blot 'em out of the Book of the Living*, Psal. 69, 16, 27, 28. which is so contrary to the New Commandment, of *Loving our Enemies*. Some Sentences of the *Psalmist* that are expressive of the Temper of our own Hearts and the Circumstances of our Lives may compose our Spirits to Seriousness, and allure us to a sweet Retirement within our selves; but we meet with a following Line which so peculiarly belongs to one Action or Hour of the Life of *David* or *Asaph*, that breaks off our Song in the midst; our Consciences are affrighted lest we should speak a Falshood unto God: Thus the Powers of our Souls are shock'd on a sudden, and our Spirits ruffled before we have time to reflect that this may be sung only as a History of antient Saints: and perhaps in some Instances that *Salvo* is hardly Sufficient neither.

Watts professed no intention to do away with the Psalms of David in public worship, but he emphasized the fact that many ministers and other Christians had long hoped for a reformation of current

practice. His book, he said, would be confined to three sorts of meter and fitted to the most common tunes. Seldom was a pause permitted in the middle of a line, and rarely did a line close without one; and metaphors were adapted to the average understanding. "I have aimed at ease of numbers and smoothness of sound," he said, "and endeavored to make the sense plain and obvious."

The book consisted of three parts. The first borrowed the sense and much of the form from special portions of Scripture; the second consisted of hymns in more original vein; the third was adapted to different occasions or to the offices of the church, especially the Lord's Supper. There was frequent didacticism, also much Calvinistic theology. Again and again one came upon emphasis on man's weakness and depravity and the legal view of the atonement; but he was also reminded of God's sovereignty and the blessed state of the redeemed. Through all ran a piety of the more intellectual type, and sometimes the adoration of the Lord glowed into genuine poetic fervor. As a whole the work tended to establish a definite type of hymn, one marked especially by unity. The author endeavored to command attention by his very first line, and he held to a single theme throughout any one of his poems.

Part I may be represented by the following stanzas on the theme, "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord" (Revelation 14. 13):

"Hear what the Voice from Heav'n proclaims
 For all the pious Dead,
 Sweet is the savour of their Names,
 And soft their sleeping Bed.

"They die in *Jesus*, and are blest,
 How kind their Slumbers are!
 From sufferings and from Sins releast,
 And freed from ev'ry snare.

"Far from this World of Toyl and Strife,
 They're present with the Lord;
 The Labours of their Mortal Life
 End in a large Reward."

Part II contained some of the hymns that were destined to be among the best known in the language. The following, here given in its original form, is now commonly used without the second stanza:

"Alas! and did my Saviour bleed?
 And did my Sovereign dye?
 Would he devote that Sacred Head
 For such a Worm as I?

"Thy Body slain, sweet Jesus, thine,
 And bath'd in it's own Blood,
 While the firm mark of Wrath Divine
 His Soul in Anguish stood.

"Was it for Crimes that I had done
 He groan'd upon the Tree?
 Amazing Pity! Grace unknown!
 And Love beyond degree!

“Well might the Sun in Darkness hide,
And shut his Glories in,
When God the mighty Maker dy’d
For Man the Creature’s Sin.

“Thus might I hide my blushing Face
While his dear Cross appears,
Dissolve my Heart in Thankfulness,
And melt my Eyes to Tears.

“But drops of Grief can ne’re repay
The debt of Love I owe,
Here, Lord, I give my self away,
’Tis all that I can do.”

Part III contains the author’s greatest hymn, one on the Crucifixion based on the text, “But God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world” (Galatians 6. 14). As in the previous hymn, one of the stanzas is now ordinarily omitted, in this case the fourth, and for a similar reason.

“When I survey the wondrous Cross
Where the young Prince of Glory dy’d,
My richest Gain I count but Loss,
And pour Contempt on all my Pride.

“Forbid it, Lord, that I should boast
Save in the Death of Christ my God;
All the vain things that charm me most,
I sacrifice them to his Blood.

"See from his Head, his Hands, his Feet,
Sorrow and Love flow mingled down;
Did e're such Love and Sorrow meet?
Or Thorns compose so rich a Crown?

"His dying Crimson like a Robe
Spreads o'er his Body on the Tree,
Then am I dead to all the Globe,
And all the Globe is dead to me.

"Were the whole Realm of Nature mine,
That were a Present far too small,
Love so amazing, so divine
Demands my Soul, my Life, my All."¹

The Imitations of the Psalms published in 1719 may be represented by the version of Psalm 90, one of the author's strongest hymns, and that is to say one of the strongest in English. For "Our God" in the first line "O God" was later substituted by Wesley and other editors.

"Our God, our help in ages past,
Our hope for years to come,
Our shelter from the stormy blast,
And our eternal home:

¹ Many stories are told of the power of this notable hymn. One gives it special connection with Matthew Arnold. On the last day of his life the critic and essayist attended in Liverpool the Sefton Park Presbyterian Church, of which Dr. John Watson ("Ian Maclaren") was pastor. A little later as he was coming down to luncheon he was heard repeating the opening lines of the hymn, which had been used in the service. At the table he spoke of it as the greatest in the language. Shortly afterward he went out and in ten minutes he was dead.

"Under the shadow of thy throne
Thy saints have dwelt secure;
Sufficient is thine arm alone,
And our defense is sure.

"Before the hills in order stood,
Or earth received her frame,
From everlasting thou art God,
To endless years the same.

"A thousand ages in thy sight
Are like an evening gone;
Short as the watch that ends the night
Before the rising sun.

"The busy tribes of flesh and blood,
With all their lives and cares,
Are carried downward by thy flood,
And lost in following years.

"Time, like an ever-rolling stream,
Bears all its sons away;
They die forgotten, as a dream
Dies at the opening day.

"Our God, our help in ages past,
Our hope for years to come,
Be thou our Guard while troubles last,
And our eternal home!"

Among the better known of the other hymns of
Watts are:

"Come, ye that love the Lord,"
"Come, Holy Spirit, heavenly Dove,"
"My God, the spring of all my joys,"

"When I can read my title clear,"
 "There is a land of pure delight,"
 "Begin, my tongue, some heavenly theme,"
 "God is the refuge of his saints,"
 "Joy to the world; the Lord is come,"
 "Am I a soldier of the cross,"
 "Jesus shall reign where'er the sun."

The Calvinism and dogma to which reference has been made may be seen from the following:

"Keep silence, all created things,
 And wait your Maker's nod;
 My soul stands trembling while she sings
 The honors of her God.

"Life, death, and hell, and worlds unknown
 Hang on his firm decree;
 He sits on no precarious throne,
 Nor borrows leave to be.

"Chained to his throne a volume lies
 With all the fates of men,
 With every angel's form and size
 Drawn by the eternal pen.

"His providence unfolds the book
 And makes his counsels shine;
 Each opening leaf and every stroke
 Fulfills some deep design.

"Here he exalts neglected worms
 To scepters and a crown;
 Anon the following page he turns
 And treads the monarch down.

"Nor Gabriel asks the reason why,
Nor God the reason gives,
Nor dares the favorite angel pry
Between the folded leaves.

"My God, I would not long to see
My fate with curious eyes,
What gloomy lines are writ for me
Or what bright scenes shall rise.

"In thy fair book of life and grace
Oh may I find my name
Recorded in some humble place
Beneath my Lord, the Lamb."

The following is one of the best of the hymns for children:

"Hush, my dear, lie still and slumber,
Holy angels guard thy bed,
Heavenly blessings without number
Gently falling on thy head.

"Soft and easy is thy cradle,
Coarse and hard thy Saviour lay
When his birthplace was a stable
And his softest bed was hay.

"May'st thou live to know and fear him,
Trust and love him all thy days,
Then go dwell forever near him,
See his face and sing his praise."

Isaac Watts began his work in the ardor of youth and he aimed at nothing less than a complete recon-

suggested that his system of praise displaced others altogether. That was not true, for, as we have seen, in some churches, especially in Scotland, Psalmody prevailed even in the nineteenth century; and even before the Wesleyan Revival the work of such men as Ken, Patrick, and Mason had received some measure of recognition. Nevertheless, by the second half of the eighteenth century Watts was no longer a vogue but an institution. His extraordinary success is to be accounted for by his ability to reach the heart of the average believer. Some of the stories told of the response that he won are remarkable. Doddridge gave one in a letter to him under date April 5, 1731:²

On Tuesday last I was preaching to a large assembly of plain country people at a village a few miles off, when, after a sermon from Hebrews vi, 12, we sang one of your hymns, which, if I remember right, with the 140th of the 2nd book, and in that part of the worship I had the satisfaction to observe tears in the eyes of several of the people; and after the service was over, some of them told me that they were not able to sing, so deeply were their minds affected! and the clerk, in particular, said he could hardly utter the words as he gave them out. They were most of them plain people, who work for their living, yet, on the mention of your name, I found that they had read several of your books with great delight; and that your psalms and hymns were almost their daily entertainment: and when one of the company said, "What if Dr. Watts should come down to Northampton!" another replied, with

² Cited by Benson, *The English Hymn*, 125.

struction of the whole basis of congregational singing. He offered his hymns to the churches largely as a substitute for the old Psalmody, and by reason of his initiative, his boldness, and the simple merit of his compositions he was able to succeed where many others failed. While he felt that he had the strength of a religious poet and might well address critical minds, he also had deep sympathy with the plain people, and he did not intend to pitch his work on too high a plane for the ordinary intellect. His deliberate condescension had the merit of freeing the hymn from the artificial diction of the day, though it was not good in so far as it led imitators to feel that high poetic quality was unnecessary. He was didactic, but his use of the hymn for homiletic purposes was certainly an improvement on the current formalism, and, all told, he worked effectively to the end that Anglicans and Dissenters might have a common treasury of sacred song.

His success was immediate and far-reaching. By 1720 the *Hymns* of 1707 had reached the seventh edition, and one can see what this means only if he considers the difference in population and the distribution of books at the time and in our own day. In America not less than in England the influence was potent, though sometimes it gave rise to heated controversy; but even organizations that did not at once favor adoption at length felt forced to grant some measure of acceptance. Some writers have

remarkable warmth, "The very sight of him would be as good as an ordinance to me."³

THE SCHOOL OF WATTS

Such wide acceptance and such personal loyalty naturally excited emulation; but it is significant, sometimes a little amusing, to observe that most of those who followed in the tradition issued their hymns not so much as designed to displace those of Watts as to afford a "supplement" to him. The supplements were numerous. The first was the *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (1720) of Simon Browne. In 1769 the biographer of Watts, Thomas Gibbons, published a collection, partly original, but this was not very successful. Distinction, however, attaches to a work that appeared in 1787 under Baptist auspices, *A Selection of Hymns from the best authors, intended to be an Appendix to Dr. Watts's Psalms and Hymns*, edited by John Rippon, successor of the learned John Gill as pastor of Carter Lane, the outstanding Baptist church of London. Rippon carried forward the homiletical idea, intending with his collection of 588 numbers to afford greater variety for the hymn after the sermon. His work, however, transcended any narrow limits and with its freedom, discretion, and

³ There is some uncertainty as to just which one of the hymns of Watts it was that was used with so much effect on this occasion. If Doddridge had in mind *Hymns and Spiritual Songs*, his memory

taste set a new standard of editing. It went through numerous editions, and was in use in Spurgeon's Tabernacle nearly eighty years after it first appeared. The influence spread to America, where one of the chief results was an edition of Watts's *Psalms of David*, which appeared in 1801 under the auspices of the General Association of the Congregationalists of Connecticut and the immediate supervision of Timothy Dwight, president of Yale College and author of "I love thy kingdom, Lord."

Four writers who received inspiration from Watts call for special mention.

Philip Doddridge (1702-1751), the son of a London merchant, came of a family that had long had connection with Dissenters. His paternal grandfather, a clergyman, was ejected from his living under the Act of Uniformity, and his mother's father was a Lutheran minister who sought refuge in England from persecution in Bohemia. He had a pious mother who explained to him stories from the Bible, but he lost both father and mother while he was still in grammar school. Poor, but very studious and of gracious disposition, the youth readily won friends, and the Duchess of Bedford offered to educate him for the Anglican ministry. He declined and entered the academy for Dissenters at Kibworth in Leicestershire, later becoming head of the school. In 1729, having already

deacon and occasional preacher in the Baptist church at Broughton in Hampshire, and for thirty years more the beloved pastor, without salary, of the same church. From early years Anne was an invalid and at times she suffered greatly. When she was twenty-one years of age the young man to whom she was to be married was drowned, on the day before the wedding. It was in connection with this experience that she wrote a poem of ten stanzas, the last three of which have been edited as her best known hymn, "Father, whate'er of earthly bliss." She gave to English hymnody the plaintive, sentimental note, and the hymns of hers to be found in modern collections number not less than a hundred, far more than those of any other Baptist writer.

"And oh, whate'er of earthly bliss
Thy sovereign hand denies,
Accepted at thy throne of grace,
Let this petition rise:

"Give me a calm, a thankful heart,
From every murmur free;
The blessings of thy grace impart,
And let me live to thee.

"Let the sweet hope that thou art mine,
My path of life attend;
Thy presence through my journey shine,
And bless its happy end."

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been chosen principal of a new theological academy at Harborough, he was called to the pastorate of the Congregational Church at Northampton, and there he combined his educational and pastoral work. Thus employed he spent the rest of his life training scores of young preachers, writing numerous theological works, and more and more winning influence by his broad and generous spirit. He disliked controversy, seeking only to deepen the spiritual life, and he was so cordial to the Methodists as to draw reproof from his older friend Watts. It was his habit when he had completed the preparation of a sermon to write a hymn embodying the main thought and to have this sung at the conclusion of the discourse the next Lord's Day. His untiring devotion to his duties at length undermined his health, and when he stopped work to give attention to himself, it was too late. He died at the height of his useful career. His poems were collected and published four years later.

Several of the hymns are in common use to-day. Among the best known are "O God of Bethel," "Jesus, I love thy charming name," "Awake, my soul, stretch every nerve," "O happy day, that fixed my choice," "How gentle God's commands," and "Father of mercies, send thy grace." In general, the compositions of Doddridge show sincerity of feeling, but they do not reveal quite such unity and harmony as are to be found in the best of Watts.

Often they begin with a stanza that is excellent, but do not quite keep up the original design or the lyrical flow.

“O God of Bethel, by whose hand
Thy people still are fed,
Who through this weary pilgrimage
Hast all our fathers led,

“Our vows, our prayers, we now present
Before thy throne of grace;
God of our fathers, be the God
Of their succeeding race.

“Through each perplexing path of life
Our wandering footsteps guide;
Give us each day our daily bread,
And raiment fit provide.

“O spread Thy sheltering wings around
Till all our wanderings cease,
And at our Father’s loved abode
Our souls arrive in peace.

“Such blessings from thy gracious hand
Our humble prayers implore;
And thou shalt be our chosen God,
And portion evermore.”

John Fawcett (1740-1817) was born at Lidget Green, near Bradford, Yorkshire. Having lost his father when he was eleven years of age, he was apprenticed to a trader in Bradford, with whom he remained six years. When he was sixteen, he was profoundly impressed by the preaching at White-

field, and later joined a newly organized Baptist church in Bradford. In this he made himself very useful, and he received encouragement in his desire to preach. Early in 1764 he became pastor of a small church at Wainsgate, near Halifax. Three years later he published some of his short poems. In 1772 he went to London to preach for Doctor Gill, of Carter's Lane Chapel, then drawing near the close of his life; and a little later he was asked to become the learned expositor's successor. Deeming it his duty to accept, he preached his farewell sermon to the church in Yorkshire, and prepared to go. On the appointed day he loaded six or seven wagons with his books and furniture, while the poor people of the community looked on in an agony of grief, clinging to him and his family. When the last wagon was loaded his wife said to him, "Oh, John, I cannot bear this; I know not how to go."

"Nor I, either," replied Fawcett; "nor will we go"; and he gave orders for the wagons to be unloaded and the goods to be put back in place. He sent a letter to London to say that he could not come, and set to work anew on a salary of even less than forty pounds a year. It was in connection with this incident that he wrote "Blest be the tie that binds," the hymn by which he is best known. In 1777 a new chapel was built for him at Hebden Bridge, near Wainsgate, and at Brearley Hall in the same neighborhood he opened a boarding school.

In 1793 he declined the presidency of the Baptist Academy at Bristol. It was well said of him that as a good soldier of Christ he endured hardness for more than half a century.

"Blest be the tie that binds
Our hearts in Christian love;
The fellowship of kindred minds
Is like to that above.

"Before our Father's throne
We pour our ardent prayers;
Our fears, our hopes, our aims are one,
Our comforts and our cares.

"We share our mutual woes;
Our mutual burdens bear;
And often for each other flows
The sympathizing tear.

"When we asunder part,
It gives us inward pain;
But we shall still be joined in heart,
And hope to meet again.

"This glorious hope revives
Our courage by the way;
While each in expectation lives
And longs to see the day.

"From sorrow, toil, and pain,
And sin, we shall be free;
And perfect love and friendship reign
Through all eternity."

Anne Steele (1716-1778) was the oldest daughter of a timber merchant, who for thirty years was a

deacon and occasional preacher in the Baptist church at Broughton in Hampshire, and for thirty years more the beloved pastor, without salary, of the same church. From early years Anne was an invalid and at times she suffered greatly. When she was twenty-one years of age the young man to whom she was to be married was drowned, on the day before the wedding. It was in connection with this experience that she wrote a poem of ten stanzas, the last three of which have been edited as her best known hymn, "Father, whate'er of earthly bliss." She gave to English hymnody the plaintive, sentimental note, and the hymns of hers to be found in modern collections number not less than a hundred, far more than those of any other Baptist writer.

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"Let the sweet hope that thou art mine,
My path of life attend;
Thy presence through my journey shine,
And bless its happy end."

Samuel Stennett (1727-1795) was one of the

most eminent of a distinguished line of Baptist preachers. He was the grandson of Joseph Stennett, previously mentioned as having some influence on Watts, and the son of Joseph Stennett, for some years a pastor in Exeter and later the pastor of the Baptist church in Little Wild Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London. For eleven years Samuel Stennett was his father's assistant, and in 1758 he himself succeeded to the pastorate of the church in Little Wild Street. From then until his death he was prominent among the Dissenters, zealous as a worker for religious freedom, and highly respected by the statesmen of the era. One of his parishioners and friends was the philanthropist, John Howard. Thirty-nine of his hymns are in Rippon's *Selection*. One is "On Jordan's stormy banks I stand." One other is the heritage of the Church universal:

"Majestic sweetness sits enthroned
 Upon the Saviour's brow;
 His head with radiant glories crowned,
 His lips with grace o'erflow.

"No mortal can with him compare,
 Among the sons of men;
 Fairer is he than all the fair
 That fill the heavenly train.

"He saw me plunged in deep distress,
 He flew to my relief;
 For me he bore the shameful cross,
 And carried all my grief.

"To him I owe my life and breath,
And all the joys I have;
He makes me triumph over death,
He saves me from the grave.

"To heaven, the place of his abode,
He brings my weary feet;
Shows me the glories of my God,
And makes my joy complete.

"Since from his bounty I receive
Such proofs of love divine,
Had I a thousand hearts to give,
Lord, they should all be thine."

V

CHARLES WESLEY AND HIS AGE

THE impulse that we know as Romanticism was a wide sea engulfing everything that came near it. In the eighteenth century there was no sphere of life or endeavor that it left untouched. Politics, society, and art alike felt the quickening influence. Sometimes, because it was many-sided, the new temper seemed to contradict itself; but, no matter how viewed, it made for a great freeing, an enfranchising, of the human spirit. In religion it found an outlet in the Wesleyan Revival.

Behind Romanticism, however, behind the religious awakening, were the wars in which England engaged. For twenty years Walpole had kept the country at peace; but in 1739 the Continental struggle was renewed; it soon merged into the War of the Austrian Succession; and this in turn was succeeded by the Seven Years War. Vastly more than can be seen in the distance, the series of conflicts affected the social life of the time. The levies, the taxes, the carefree living, and the drunkenness created a condition which the conventional religion of the period seemed powerless to reach. Someone was needed to quicken the spiritual pulse of the

nation, to take the gospel of higher living to the man in the street; and that is exactly what John Wesley did. Allying himself with the eloquent preacher, George Whitefield, and assisted by his brother, Charles Wesley, this great organizer wrought mightily for righteousness in both England and America. Shut out from Anglican pulpits, the evangelists preached wherever they could, and enormous crowds flocked to hear them tell the story of salvation.

As the Established Church stood aloof, the work of Wesley naturally tended toward the founding of a separate communion. His brother opposed this, and he himself insisted to the end that he belonged to the Church of England, though four years after his death the Methodists formally became a distinct denomination. He and Whitefield soon separated on points of doctrine, one being Arminian and the other Calvinistic, and their differences as well as their association had far-reaching effect on the composition of hymns.

JOHN WESLEY

Because of the distinction of his brother as a writer of hymns, the achievement of John Wesley (1703-1791) in this field has tended to be obscured. While Charles Wesley, however, became eminently the poet of Methodism, it was the leader of the movement himself who led in the making of a new

hymnody. He it was who initiated and fostered this, and who guided and restrained its course by the books which he edited. From his early years, moreover, in a home circle as distinguished for its intelligence as its piety, he had realized the inadequacy of the old Psalmody and had been trained in the social singing of hymns. The father in the rectory at Epworth, Samuel Wesley, showed some imaginative force in his writing, and not less than five of the children in his large family had talent for the making of verse.

The singing of psalms and hymns passed naturally from the Epworth rectory to the meetings of the little group that Charles Wesley brought together at Oxford in the spring of 1729 for study and devotion to good works. "There is a new set of Methodists sprung up," remarked a young man of Christ Church; and the name thus bestowed later became a badge of honor. On his return to Oxford in the autumn John Wesley became the leader of the "Holy Club." By this time he was well acquainted not only with Tate and Brady's *New Version* and Watts's *Hymns*, but also with William Law's *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*, issued in the same year. Of this last book he had no hesitancy in saying that it sowed the seed of Methodism. In the course of the century only the Bible surpassed it in evangelical influence.

On October 14, 1735, having embarked upon the

missionary life, John Wesley set sail for the new colony of Georgia with his brother Charles and Benjamin Ingham; and, as Benson remarks, the account of the life of the three on board the vessel reads like a protracted meeting of the Holy Club. Among their fellow voyagers were twenty-six German Moravians, who with their bishop, were going as colonizers to the New World. These people made much of the singing of hymns, exhibiting in every storm and trial an unruffled faith. John Wesley was so much impressed that on the third day out he began the study of German and soon he joined in the daily worship of the Moravians. The fervor and the spontaneity of the singing of this group of Christians made upon him an impression that he never forgot.

When, then, in 1737 Wesley brought out in Charleston his first hymn book, *Collection of Psalms and Hymns*, he included five pieces that he had translated from the German. Half of the seventy hymns in the booklet were from Watts, and ten from Samuel Wesley, Sr., or Samuel Wesley, Jr., but none it happened were by Charles Wesley, who had returned to England. John Wesley returned February 1, 1738, bringing with him a sense of spiritual defeat. He continued to act in association with the Moravians, however, and on the advice of Peter Böhler he, with his brother Charles and others, on May 1, organized a "little society" at the

home and bookshop of James Hutton. He dated his own evangelical conversion from May 24; and his society, afterward removed to Fetter Lane, while ostensibly under the Church of England, proved to be the nucleus not only of organized Methodism but also of organized Moravianism in England.

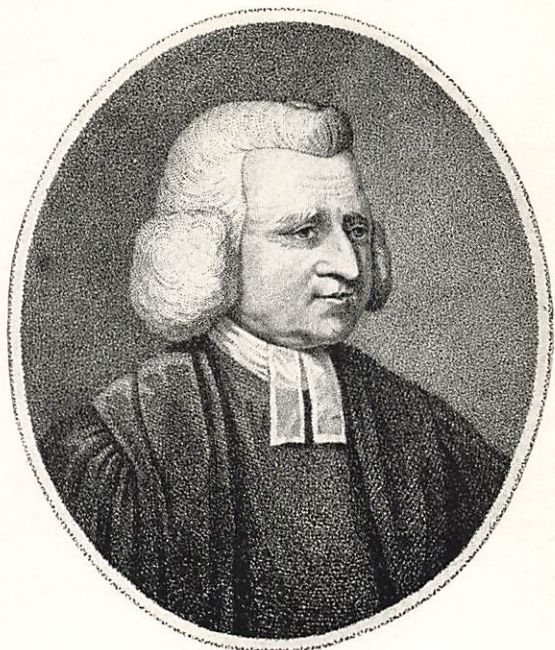
It was evidently for the society in London and for similar groups in Bristol and Oxford that Wesley now brought out his second hymn book, *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns*. In spite of the similarity between the title and that of the first book, there was considerable difference in content, but still nothing by Charles Wesley, whose genius waited for the quickening of the revival. In 1739, however, after John Wesley had made his memorable visit to Bristol at Whitefield's solicitation, there appeared *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, bearing the names of both brothers, a work that went through three editions within a year. Henceforth publications were numerous. Not less than fifty-six books, exclusive of tune books, represent the poetic achievement of the two men, either jointly or separately; and the contents of thirty-six are altogether original. The work culminated in *A Collection of Hymns for the use of the People called Methodists* (London, 1780), a book that immediately became the standard for Methodist congregations.

It was for this definitive publication that Wesley wrote a notable preface setting forth the theory that

had actuated him and his brother. He intended, he said, not only to elevate the minds of the people but also to place more emphasis on poetry. In the hymns that he offered there would be found "no doggerel, no botches, nothing put in to patch up the rhyme, no feeble expletives," "nothing turgid or bombast, on the one hand, nor low and creeping on the other," but, rather, "the purity, the strength, and the elegance of the English language; and, at the same time the utmost simplicity and plainness, suited to every capacity." Finally he called upon men of taste to judge whether there was not in the book "the true spirit of poetry, such as can not be acquired by art and labor, but must be the gift of nature." This ideal seems to challenge not only the tawdry and unliterary effects sometimes tolerated by Watts, but also the feeble efforts of scores who had imitated him. It may be worth while to keep it in mind as we proceed.

CHARLES WESLEY

Charles Wesley (1707-1788) is commonly recognized as a great writer of hymns, but not always is he given his full place in the history of the Methodist Revival. Far from being a retiring poet, he was a man of action as well as devotion, fully acquainted with the trials and storms of life, and in unusual degree his hymns reflected his personal experience. Strong, impulsive, dynamic, he did not



From *Hurst's History of Methodism*

CHARLES WESLEY

hesitate to follow the leading of the inner light, and, although three and a half years younger than John Wesley, more than once he suggested to his brother the course of action it was best to pursue.

Even in his youth he showed his independent spirit. Entering the Westminster school in 1716, in course of time he became a king's scholar, and in 1725 captain of the school. Then as later he did not shun a fight, and among his battles were some on behalf of his young friend, the future Earl of Mansfield. In 1726 he was elected to Christ Church, Oxford, and on his graduation in 1729 he became a tutor. It was at this time that he began the meetings that were so largely to affect his life and his age. In 1735 he went to Georgia as secretary to General Oglethorpe, but, his health failing, he returned the next year. On May 21, 1738, three days before his brother, he "found rest to his soul"; and thereafter he threw himself whole-heartedly into the work of the revival, though he strongly opposed his brother's ordinations. In 1756 he ceased from his work as an itinerant minister and settled in Bristol.

Charles Wesley was one of the most spontaneous writers that ever lived, and he had an ode for every occasion. Any experience whatsoever might call forth a hymn, and naturally the regular festivals of the church were duly observed. Among different groups we read of hymns for times of Trouble and Persecution, hymns occasioned by the Earthquake

(1750), hymns on the expected Invasion (1759), hymns for the Nativity, for the Lord's Resurrection, for the Ascension, for the Sacrament, for Grace before meat, for Funerals, for Thanksgiving, for the National Fast (1782). Any day, as the preacher rode from one appointment to another, his meditation might take wing in song. The total number of his compositions far exceeds that of any other hymn writer. In *Short Hymns on select passages of the Holy Scripture* (2 vols., 1763) alone there are two thousand and thirty pieces. Different hymns in use to-day number not less than four hundred. Of these the following are among the best known:

- "A charge to keep I have,"
- "Blow ye the trumpet, blow,"
- "Christ the Lord is risen to-day,"
- "Christ, whose glory fills the skies,"
- "Depth of mercy, can there be,"
- "Hark! the herald angels sing,"
- "I know that my Redeemer lives,"
- "Jesus, Lover of my soul,"
- "Light of those whose dreary dwelling,"
- "Love divine, all loves excelling,"
- "O for a thousand tongues to sing,"
- "Rejoice, the Lord is King,"
- "Soldiers of Christ, arise,"
- "Ye servants of God, your Master proclaim."

Just as John Wesley came to realize the meaning of salvation by grace, so we may say that the hymns of Charles Wesley reveal a new discovery of the infinite love of Christ. With their abounding zeal, their fervid style, their copious diction, and their deep piety, they are eloquent with joy in Christ and the Holy Spirit. They differ from the hymns of Watts in both teaching and tone. The earlier writer was Calvinistic, emphasizing eternal decrees for the saved and the unsaved; the later poet was Arminian, proclaiming the power of Christ to save to the uttermost. Watts is awed into reverence by the cross of Christ; Wesley feels for the Saviour a warm and personal love. In form also there was a difference. Watts held to an idea clearly developed in long, common, or short meter, with pauses coming strongly at the end of the lines. Wesley, while not neglecting the old stanza forms, felt free to use meters other than the iambic and stanzas of six or eight as well as four lines. Subjective in his point of view, he was quite as romantic in his expression.

The shortcoming in all this is just what might have been expected from unusual fluency. Wesley seems to have given his work little revision, and not always does he carry through to the end of a poem the idea with which he starts. "A charge to keep I have," "I know that my Redeemer lives," and other well-known selections shift the address sharply in the course of the composition. Nor is the poetic

quality of which John Wesley spoke always used most effectively. The hymn sung everywhere at Christmas, for instance, originally began

“Hark! how all the welkin rings,
Glory to the King of kings!”

It took a later editor, Martin Madan, to give us the lines that are now familiar:

“Hark! the herald angels sing
Glory to the new-born King!”

One of the hymns—typical both because it is not technically perfect and because it pulsates with the love of Christ—is ever among the first in any consideration of hymns that have helped.

“Jesus, Lover of my soul,
Let me to thy bosom fly,
While the nearer waters roll,
While the tempest still is high.
Hide me, O my Saviour, hide,
Till the storm of life is past;
Safe into the haven guide,
O receive my soul at last.

“Other refuge have I none;
Hangs my helpless soul on thee;
Leave, ah, leave me not alone,
Still support and comfort me.
All my trust on thee is stayed,
All my help from thee I bring;
Cover my defenseless head
With the shadow of thy wing.

"Wilt thou not regard my call?
Wilt thou not accept my prayer?
Lo! I sink, I faint, I fall—
Lo! on thee I cast my care:
Reach me out thy gracious hand!
While I of thy strength receive,
Hoping against hope I stand,
Dying, and, behold, I live!

"Thou, O Christ, art all I want;
More than all in thee I find:
Raise the fallen, cheer the faint,
Heal the sick, and lead the blind.
Just and holy is thy name;
I am all unrighteousness;
False and full of sin I am,
Thou art full of truth and grace.

"Plenteous grace with thee is found,
Grace to cover all my sin;
Let the healing streams abound;
Make and keep me pure within.
Thou of life the fountain art,
Freely let me take of thee;
Spring thou up within my heart;
Rise to all eternity."

Partly because the Methodists were frowned upon by conventional churchmen, and partly because of the controversies to which the sect gave rise, Charles Wesley was slow in gaining the recognition that he is accorded to-day. Even among the Methodists the natural tendency to exalt John Wesley often led to silence as to the brother who ques-

tioned his polity. Historically there was a marked contrast between the church's reception of the work of Watts and that of the poet of Methodism. The hymns of the former had something like a universal appeal. Because they were not pitched on too high a plane and were kept within the average range of spiritual experience, they could commend themselves to any one of the Nonconformist groups and even to Anglicans. Wesley's hymns, on the other hand, were not assisted to popularity by their poetic quality; they were often regarded as the vehicle of Methodist error; and in common thought they were associated with sensationalism and rant. The intellectuals of the day looked down upon them.

It cannot be said accordingly that Charles Wesley founded a school. Even so, his influence was potent. The hymns that he wrote had a novelty of theme, a heightening of emotion, and a fervor of expression that definitely separated them from those that had gone before. First of all, they were strongly evangelistic—simple, direct, and tender, yet free from the triviality and vulgarity of many later revival hymns. They were also distinctly autobiographical, and they definitely established the hymn of personal experience. They not only helped, moreover, to enhance the literary quality of sacred song, but also to revive the idea of a liturgical hymnody adequately providing for the festivals and offices of the church. In general, the Wesleys may

be said to have given the writing of hymns a new freedom. Watts had aimed at a "renovation of Psalmody." Henceforth there need be no connection with the Psalms, and any earnest soul might express its prayer or aspiration in any form that seemed sufficient. Thus it was that several men who were theologically opposed to the Methodist leaders were nevertheless awakened by their forthright message and the vigor, the sincerity, the abounding fervor with which it was delivered through the medium of verse.

TOPLADY

Prominent among those who received inspiration from the Methodists but who later opposed their theology was Augustus Montague Toplady (1740-1778). The father of this ardent controversialist, a major in the army, was killed at the siege of Carthage a few months after the birth of his son. In his early years the youth was educated at the Westminster school, and he proved to be very precocious. At thirteen he wrote a farce which he intended to submit to Garrick, at fourteen he was composing hymns, and at nineteen he published a volume of his poems. His mother having removed to Ireland, one summer day in 1756 he was brought near to God at a meeting conducted in a barn by the Methodist preacher James Morris; in due course he received the degree of Master of Arts at Trinity College,

Dublin; and in 1762 he was ordained to the Anglican ministry. After serving as vicar or curate in three villages in Devonshire, Toplady went to the Huguenot Chapel in Orange Street, London, where he preached to large congregations until his strength was spent. There was a vein of genuine sincerity in his devoutness, and he often spoke with power; but he was neurotic, rash in utterance, and often reckless in his judgments, so that he had little of the charity that is supposed to abide with a Christian. He conducted a relentless controversy with John Wesley, and his scurrility was sometimes amazing. His strong convictions racked his frail body, and it was naturally not long before disease laid hold upon him. The strictness, the dogmatic nature of his Calvinistic theology may be seen from the hymn "Full Assurance":

"A debtor to mercy alone,
Of covenant mercy I sing;
Nor fear, with thy righteousness on,
My person and offering to bring.

"The terrors of law and of God
With me can have nothing to do;
My Saviour's obedience and blood
Hide all my transgressions from view.

"The work which his goodness began,
The arm of his strength will complete;
His promise is yea and amen,
And never was forfeited yet.

"Things future, nor things that are now,
 Nor all things below nor above,
 Can make him his purpose forego,
 Or sever my soul from his love.

"My name from the palms of his hands
 Eternity cannot erase;
 Impressed on his heart it remains
 In marks of indelible grace.

"Yea, I to the end shall endure,
 As sure as the earnest is given;
 More happy, but not more secure,
 Than glorified spirits in heaven."

Toplady wrote several other hymns, among them "Object of my first desire" and "Deathless principle, arise"; but he is now remembered almost wholly as the author of "Rock of Ages." We first hear of this hymn in connection with an article in the *Gospel Magazine* for October, 1775, in which were included four of the lines that are now familiar. Five months later, in March, 1776, when Toplady himself had become editor of the periodical, the poem was given in full. The circumstances under which it appeared were unusual. A curious article by one "J. F." in the form of a dialogue set out to prove that England would never be able to pay her national debt. Toplady followed this with a "spiritual improvement," in which he showed that sinners were in the same situation in their debt to the moral law. The commission of one sin in every second

would in course of time, he figured, amount to millions and millions of sins. Man was utterly helpless; accordingly, there was given "A living and dying Prayer for the Holiest Believer in the World." This title has been much discussed, and it has even been thought to have sarcastic reference to John Wesley. Such an interpretation, however, is not necessary, and Toplady seems only to imply that even the most earnest and faithful believer stands in need of the riches of grace.

The sources upon which the author drew have also called forth much discussion, and, strangely enough, he appears to have been chiefly indebted to his arch opponent, John Wesley. Outside the village of Burrington Combe in Somerset rises a limestone crag some seventy or eighty feet in height. Down the center is a deep fissure, and it is quite possible that Toplady received some suggestion for his hymn while he was curate at Blagdon Church, within walking distance of the crag. Benson, however, calls attention¹ to some words in the preface of Wesley's *Hymns on the Lord's Supper*:

O Rock of *Israel*, Rock of Salvation, Rock struck and cleft for me, let those two Streams of *Blood* and *Water* which once gushed out of Thy side, bring down *Pardon* and *Holiness* into my Soul. And let me thirst after them now, as if I stood upon the Mountain whence sprung *this Water*; and near the *Cleft* of that Rock, the Wounds of my Lord, whence gushed this sacred *Blood*.

¹*Studies of Familiar Hymns*, 2d Ser., p. 115.

Hymn 27 in the same book begins "Rock of Israel, cleft for me." Behind all such references as these, of course, are suggestive passages of Scripture; thus we have "And it shall come to pass, while my glory passeth by, that I will put thee in a clift of the rock, and will cover thee with my hand while I pass by" (Exodus 33. 22); "And did all drink the same spiritual drink: for they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them: and that Rock was Christ" (1 Corinthians 10. 4); and the marginal reading for Isaiah 26. 4, with closeness to the Hebrew, is "Trust ye in the Lord for ever; for in the Lord Jehovah is a rock of ages." Toplady's original line in the fourth stanza, "When my eyestrings break in death," was soon altered; but, with the exception of this one change, the four stanzas as they appeared in the author's *Psalms and Hymns* were as follows:

"Rock of Ages, cleft for me,
 Let me hide myself in thee;
 Let the water and the blood,
 From thy riven side which flowed,
 Be of sin the double cure,
 Cleanse me from its guilt and power.

"Not the labors of my hands
 Can fulfill Thy law's demands;
 Could my zeal no respite know,
 Could my tears forever flow,
 All for sin could not atone;
 Thou must save, and thou alone.

“Nothing in my hand I bring,
Simply to thy cross I cling;
Naked, come to thee for dress,
Helpless, look to thee for grace;
Foul, I to the fountain fly;
Wash me, Saviour, or I die.

“While I draw this fleeting breath,
When my eyelids close in death,
When I soar to worlds unknown,
Seek Thee on Thy judgment throne,
Rock of Ages, cleft for me,
Let me hide myself in thee.”

Toplady's sincerity in his best moments, and the glow and passion of his work, have given him a high place in the regard of Christian people. He was not, however, an inspired singer or a poet who uniformly produced excellent verse; thus it is that, with the exception of this one notable hymn, his writings have all but passed into oblivion.

PERRONET

Similarly remembered as the author of one remarkable hymn is Edward Perronet (1721-1792), the son of a clergyman of the Church of England, who under the influence of the Wesleys became a traveling Methodist preacher. Perronet was impulsive, sensitive, and restless, and his career as a whole was one of thwarted plans and disappointed hopes. In 1756 he published *The Mitre*, a satire in verse ridiculing Episcopal church government. This

he suppressed at the earnest request of both his father and the Wesleys. Later he left the Wesleys and became a preacher in the Countess of Huntingdon's Connection, which differed with Methodism on doctrinal grounds. After the Countess also remonstrated against his bitterness, he left her, and he ended his days as the pastor of a small Dissenting congregation in Canterbury.

"All hail the power of Jesus' name" was written in 1779 and first appeared in the *Gospel Magazine* the next year. Rippon later added the stanza beginning "Oh, that with yonder sacred throng." The version in the author's *Occasional Verses, moral and sacred* (1785), reads as follows:

"All hail the power of Jesu's name!
 Let angels prostrate fall;
 Bring forth the royal diadem,
 To crown him Lord of All.

"Let high-born Seraphs tune the lyre,
 And, as they tune it, fall
 Before His face who tunes their choir,
 And crown Him Lord of All.

"Crown Him, ye morning stars of light,
 Who fix'd this floating ball;
 Now hail the strength of Israel's might,
 And crown Him Lord of All.

"Crown him, ye martyrs of your God,
 Who from his altar call;
 Extol the stem of Jesse's rod,
 And crown him Lord of All.

“Ye seed of Israel’s chosen race,
 Ye ransomed of the fall,
 Hail Him who saves you by his grace,
 And crown him Lord of All.

“Hail Him, ye heirs of David’s line,
 Whom David Lord did call;
 The God incarnate, Man Divine,
 And crown him Lord of All.

“Sinners! whose love can ne’er forget
 The wormwood and the gall,
 Go—spread your trophies at his feet,
 And crown him Lord of All.

“Let every tribe, and every tongue,
 That bound creation’s call,
 Now shout in universal song,
 THE CROWNED LORD OF ALL.”

NEWTON AND COWPER

Famous in the history of English hymnody is the collaboration of John Newton (1725-1807) and the well-known poet William Cowper (1731-1800). Newton led a wild life for a number of years; having deserted from the English navy, he was for some time engaged in the slave trade. During a storm at sea he gave his heart to Christ. Back in England he had some difficulty in formally entering upon religious work, because of his early career and his irregular schooling; but in 1764, at the age of thirty-nine, he was ordained and given a curacy in the village of Olney. A mutual friendship having de-

veloped, to this place also came Cowper to live. Newton was of a strong and intense nature. "I can never forget two things," he once said: "first, that I was a great sinner, and, second, that Jesus is a great Saviour." He was buried at the Church of Saint Mary Woolnoth, London, of which he was rector for the last twenty-eight years of his life. He had written his own epitaph, speaking of himself as "once an infidel and libertine, a servant of slaves in Africa," who was "by the rich mercy of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ preserved, restored, pardoned and appointed to preach the faith he had long labored to destroy."

Olney Hymns (1779) were written for the weekly prayer meetings which Newton held in an empty house. Of the total number 348, he himself wrote 280, 68 being by Cowper. For the whole also Newton wrote a touching preface. The book, he said,

"was intended as a monument, to perpetuate the remembrance of an intimate and endeared friendship. With this pleasing view I entered upon my part, which would have been much smaller than it is, and the book would have appeared much sooner, and in a very different form, if the wise, though mysterious providence of God, had not seen fit to cross my wishes. We had not proceeded far upon our proposed plan, before my dear friend was prevented, by a long and affecting indisposition, from affording me any further assistance. My grief and disappointment were great; I hung my harp upon the willows, and for some time thought myself determined to

proceed no further without him. Yet my mind was afterward led to assume the service. My progress in it, amidst a variety of other engagements, has been slow; yet in a course of years the hymns amounted to a considerable number. And my deference to the judgment and desires of others, has at length overcome the reluctance I long felt to see them in print, while I had so few of my friend's hymns to insert in the collection."

Of Newton's own pieces five of the best known are "Amazing grace! how sweet the sound," "Approach, my soul, the mercy-seat," "Glorious things of thee are spoken," "How sweet the name of Jesus sounds," and "Safely through another week."

"Amazing grace! how sweet the sound
That saved a wretch like me!
I once was lost, but now am found—
Was blind, but now I see.

"'Twas grace that taught my heart to fear,
And grace my fears relieved;
How precious did that grace appear
The hour I first believed!

"Through many dangers, toils, and snares
I have already come;
'Tis grace hath brought me safe thus far,
And grace will lead me home.

"Let God the Father, and the Son,
And Spirit be adored,
Where there are works to make him known,
Or saints to love the Lord."

The influence that Newton had on his friend can

hardly be said to have been altogether beneficial. He himself was an evangelist of tremendous power; but when he took the poet away from the simple pleasures to which he had become accustomed and urged him to begin exhorting in meeting, he was but inducing a return of the mental disease that had already given trouble. All the hymns that Cowper contributed to the joint volume were written before 1773. In that year there was a return of his mania, and, even with the best of treatment, it was a year before he began to recover. This was the long and affecting indisposition to which Newton referred in his preface. In 1779, however, the evangelist was called to Saint Mary Woolnoth in London, and Cowper, relieved of his overbearing influence, entered upon what was probably the happiest period of his life.

The hymns which he contributed to the joint volume include some of the best known in the language. They are sincere, direct, and practical, and express his experiences in the Christian life with the simplicity that uniformly characterizes his work. It can not be said that they are profound or deeply mystical. The three that are most familiar are "There is a fountain filled with blood," "God moves in a mysterious way," and "O for a closer walk with God." The first of these is intense and thoroughly representative of its age, and is still cherished by some evangelical denominations. On

the other hand, because of its theology, it has become perhaps the most fiercely assailed hymn in the language. The third of those mentioned, while not more powerful, on the whole better illustrates the quality of the poet's work.

"O for a closer walk with God,
A calm and heavenly frame,
A light to shine upon the road
That leads me to the Lamb!

"Where is the blessedness I knew
When first I saw the Lord?
Where is the soul-refreshing view
Of Jesus and his word?

"What peaceful hours I once enjoyed!
How sweet their memory still!
But they have left an aching void
The world can never fill.

"Return, O Holy Dove; return,
Sweet messenger of rest:
I hate the sins that made thee mourn
And drove thee from my breast.

"The dearest idol I have known,
Whate'er that idol be,
Help me to tear it from thy throne,
And worship only thee.

"So shall my walk be close with God,
Calm and serene my frame;
So purer light shall mark the road
That leads me to the Lamb."



From *New People's Encyclopedia*

WILLIAM COWPER

OTHER WRITERS OF THE PERIOD

Several other writers of hymns flourished in the second half of the eighteenth century, and in almost every case, as with Toplady and Perronet, they are remembered for one notable contribution. One name across which one constantly comes in the literature of the period is that of Martin Madan (1726-1790). This hymnologist, a relative of Cowper, was educated at the Westminster school and at Christ Church, Oxford. In 1748 he was called to the bar. Sent by the members of a club to which he belonged to hear and ridicule Wesley, he was so much impressed by the great preacher that he himself afterward took orders, and became a popular minister. In 1780, however, he raised a storm by a book defending polygamy with examples drawn from the Old Testament. He then resigned his pastorate and retired to private life. It is not known that he wrote any hymns himself, but he had unusual skill in revising and adapting the work of others.

John Cennick (1718-1755), after a reckless boyhood and youth, realized the error of his way and reached out for higher things. He studied for the ministry, and became a preacher, first under the direction of Wesley, later of Whitefield, and finally joined the Moravians. He wrote "Children of the heavenly King," "Jesus, my all, to heaven is gone," and "Thou dear Redeemer, dying Lamb," and is

ordinarily given credit for "Lo! He comes, with clouds descending," one of the great hymns of the English Church. This originally began "Lo! He cometh, countless trumpets," and was published in a *Dublin Collection of Sacred Hymns*. Later Madan combined some of his stanzas with some by Charles Wesley, so that the composition as we now have it really represents the work of three men.

Thomas Olivers (1725-1799), left an orphan when he was five years of age, was passed for a while from one relative to another, and he lived through an unhappy and dissolute youth. Coming at eighteen, shabby and penniless, to the seaport town of Bristol, he happened to hear Whitefield preach. Thenceforth for him the world was changed. For more than fifty years he served as an earnest and helpful minister of the gospel. He wrote a noble hymn of twelve stanzas, commonly used with an impressive Hebrew melody.

"The God of Abraham praise,
Who reigns enthroned above;
Ancient of everlasting days,
And God of love.
Jehovah, Great I AM!
By earth and heav'n confessed,
I bow and bless the sacred name,
Forever blest."

William Williams (1717-1791), "the sweet singer of Wales," is credited with having written

more than nine hundred hymns. For a while he was associated with the Wesleys, but he later acted independently. He spent thirty-five years as a revivalist and helped to organize the Calvinistic Methodists. He was greatly assisted in his meetings by his wife, who had a remarkably beautiful voice. The hymn by which he is best known was originally written in Welsh. It was translated into English by Peter Williams. The author accepted the translation and revised it.

"Guide me, O Thou great Jehovah,
 Pilgrim through this barren land;
 I am weak, but thou art mighty,
 Hold me with thy powerful hand;
 Bread of heaven,
 Feed me till I want no more."

Robert Robinson (1735-1790), left fatherless when eight years of age, like many others of the time was converted by the preaching of Whitefield. He obtained a good education and was ordained to the Methodist ministry. Unfortunately, however, a certain unsteadiness of mind and purpose led him frequently to change his beliefs, and he became a Baptist, then an Independent, and finally a Socinian. His career as a whole thus failed of the highest fulfillment, and in his later years he missed the sturdy assurance which rings through the fervent hymn written when he was still a very young man.

"Come, thou Fount of every blessing,
 Tune my heart to sing thy grace;
 Streams of mercy never ceasing
 Call for songs of loudest praise;
 Teach me some melodious sonnet,
 Sung by flaming tongues above;
 Praise the mount, O fix me on it,
 Mount of God's unchanging love."

"How firm a foundation" originally appeared in seven stanzas in Rippon's *Selection* in 1787. For a long time the authorship was in doubt, but it has now been settled in favor of Robert Keene, precursor in the Baptist church in London of which Doctor Rippon was pastor.

"How firm a foundation, ye saints of the Lord,
 Is laid for your faith in his excellent word!
 What more can he say than to you he hath said,—
 To you who for refuge to Jesus have fled?"

Selina Shirley, Countess of Huntingdon (1707-1791), was deeply interested in the spiritual awakening of the period, and freely gave of her time and her means to further it. While she took her stand with the Calvinistic Methodists and was the patron of Whitefield and his associates, she owned kinship with all who preached a personal Christ and God's redeeming love. At times she expressed her meditation in verse, and her best hymn has a majesty of movement, a sureness of rhythm, and a suggestion of the Last Judgment that recall the *Dies Irae*:

"When thou, my righteous Judge, shall come
 To take thy ransomed people home,
 Shall I among them stand?
 Shall such a worthless worm as I,
 Who sometimes am afraid to die,
 Be found at thy right hand?"

Samuel Medley (1738-1799), after pious early training, at eighteen entered the Royal Navy and was for some years embarked on a reckless career. Severely wounded in a sea fight off Cape Lagos, he came to a realization of his better self. He began to preach in 1766, soon proved to be a helpful minister, and spent the last seventeen years of his life as a pastor in Liverpool. A small edition of his hymns was published during his lifetime, in 1789. While Medley was a Baptist, he received much influence from the Methodists; he was one with them in fervor; and especially did he show a fondness for the six-line stanza cultivated by Charles Wesley and others during the period.

"Oh, could I speak the matchless worth,
 Oh, could I sound the glories forth
 Which in my Saviour shine,
 I'd soar, and touch the heavenly strings
 And vie with Gabriel while he sings
 In notes almost divine."

George Heath (1781-1822) was for some time the pastor of a Presbyterian church in Honiton, Devonshire. He wrote numerous hymns. The one

by which he is best known is so much in the spirit of Wesley's work that it might easily be mistaken for his:

"My soul, be on thy guard;
 Ten thousand foes arise;
 The hosts of sin are pressing hard
 To draw thee from the skies."

Thomas Kelly (1769-1855), the son of a distinguished barrister, first studied for the law, but after graduating at Trinity College, Dublin, he dedicated himself to the ministry and was ordained in the Established Church. His preaching was more fervid and evangelistic than was usual among the Anglicans, and after a while he was inhibited by the Archbishop of Dublin from preaching in the diocese. He then began to preach in Nonconformist chapels, soon became a Dissenter himself, and from his ample means built a number of Congregational churches at Athy, Wexford, and elsewhere. His benevolent spirit and his earnest striving caused him to be most highly regarded by both rich and poor. In hymnody he is a transitional figure. The collection *Hymns on Various Passages of Scripture* (1804) links him with the homiletic tradition; on the other hand, such a poem as "On the mountaintop appearing" gives connection with the Missionary Movement. In general, Kelly may be regarded as one who brought over into the nineteenth century the fervor and the strong Christian

confidence of Wesley and some of his contemporaries. He delights to sing of the security of Zion and to voice his love and honor for the Saviour. Aside from the hymn mentioned, three of the best known are "Zion stands with hills surrounded," "The head that once was crowned with thorns," and "Hark! ten thousand harps and voices." All are radiant with zeal for the coming of the kingdom of Christ.

"Zion stands with hills surrounded,—
 Zion, kept by power divine;
 All her foes shall be confounded,
 Though the world in arms combine:
 Happy Zion,
 What a favored lot is thine!

"Every human tie may perish,
 Friend to friend unfaithful prove;
 Mothers cease their own to cherish,
 Heaven and earth at last remove;
 But no changes
 Can attend Jehovah's love."

VI

THE MISSIONARY IMPULSE

FAR-REACHING in its effects on life and society in the Western world was the French Revolution. After various signs and portents the storm burst in 1789, and for eight years thereafter radical theories flourished in England, the events in France being hailed as inaugurating a new day in the history of mankind. Coinciding with the industrial revolution and the Romantic Movement, the new influence was everywhere felt in behalf of the submerged, the neglected, and the oppressed. Parliamentary reform, prison improvement, and the abolition of slavery alike received emphasis, and men were lifted to a new plane of devotion and service.

Not unnaturally there were organizations that were interested in political questions and that in one way or another showed the influence of the events taking place beyond the Channel. Immediate discussion was provoked in 1789 by a sermon before the Society for Commemorating the Revolution in Great Britain. This organization had originally been formed to celebrate the events that brought William of Orange to the throne one hundred years before. At the meeting in November, just four months after the fall of the Bastille, Dr. Richard

Price, a Nonconformist with positive opinions on public questions, moved an address congratulating the French National Assembly on the Revolution and on the prospect that it gave to the two foremost nations in the world of a common participation in the blessings of liberty. It was this address that he enlarged upon in his sermon. The endeavor of all, he asserted, should be to spread Truth, Virtue, and Liberty. Patriotism had proved nothing more than a scourge to mankind. Men should be citizens of the world rather than lovers of any special land or country; and Jesus Christ himself in the parable of the Good Samaritan taught the principle of universal benevolence. A king should consider himself the servant rather than the sovereign of his people; and wars—the instruments of kings—would disappear as England and France, both delivered from despotism, united to prevent them everywhere.

Price was by no means alone in the significance that he attached to the stirring events in France. Edmund Burke, however, took an entirely different view of the situation. He foresaw that the mob, mad with power, would not be satisfied with moderate measures, and that ultimately the principle of orderly government would everywhere be endangered. To him the sermon of Price was nothing less than the voice of anarchy, and, after taking several months to formulate his reply, he brought forth his *Reflections on the French Revolution*. Assail-

ing the ideas of liberal theorists as both morally and politically false, he painted the Assembly in its worst light, and in panegyric that has become famous he recalled Marie Antoinette in the spring-time of her beauty. He even asserted that "when ancient opinions and rules of life are taken away, the loss cannot possibly be estimated." Such an utterance was not likely to pass unchallenged, and Thomas Paine in *The Rights of Man* mercilessly exposed the fallacies. A few months later appeared William Godwin's provocative *Political Justice* and Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, a little book which was hastily written but whose freshness and vitality might well be envied by many more ambitious works.

Meanwhile the poets were not silent. Cowper also spoke for the oppressed and glorified the Mansfield decision by which slavery became impossible in England. Crabbe drew his stern portrayals of village or peasant life. Burns, more of a revolutionary than is often thought, proclaimed "A man's a man for a' that." Blake, both revolutionist and mystic, said,

"I will not cease from mental fight,
Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand,
Till we have built Jerusalem
In England's green and pleasant land."

Such humanitarians were outstanding; yet they were only some of a much larger number of men

who were seriously concerned with the problems of the age. The pamphleteering of Paine was succeeded by that of William Cobbett, who established the *Political Register*, voice of the small trader and farmer. Jeremy Bentham sought by legislation the greatest good of the greatest number; and in social reform Robert Owen began those experiments that were so largely to affect the relations between capitalists and their employees in the course of the next century.

In all such ways did men consider their relation to their fellow men, and naturally in religion the influence was potent. Especially was there a quickening of missionary effort. In July, 1780, Robert Raikes, a business man of Gloucester who had been interested in prison reform, began to bring together for instruction on the Sabbath some of the poorer children of his city, and thus began the modern Sunday school. In the single decade 1790-1800 there were organized three great missionary societies, while the High-Church organization, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, took on new life. It was on June 13, 1793, that William Carey sailed for India.

MONTGOMERY

This deep sympathy with the oppressed or unfortunate, and this earnest desire to carry the gospel to those who had not heard it, were especially repre-

sented by James Montgomery (1771-1854), who was not a great poet but who made to hymnody a contribution that more than once reached excellence. In his long career this writer seems to have been interested in every good work. His father was an Ulster Scot of peasant stock, and when he was still quite young both parents went as missionaries to the West Indies, leaving him at the Moravian school at Fulneck, near Leeds. Here the quaint hymn book awakened an interest that was to be life-long. The brethren of the institution, however, at length gave him up as a candidate for the ministry and placed him in a baker's shop. He ran away and later worked in the village of Wath. When twenty-one years of age he saw in a radical paper, *The Sheffield Register*, an advertisement for a clerk. He applied in person, secured the position, and thus began work in the place where in course of time he became regarded as the foremost citizen. When two years later the proprietor had to flee from political persecution, a townsman found means of carrying on the periodical; the name was changed to *The Sheffield Iris*, and Montgomery was placed in charge. Twice the young editor was sent to jail, once for three and later for six months. He first incurred displeasure for printing what was regarded as a seditious ballad on the fall of the Bastille; and a month after his release he was charged with malicious libel because of his account of the manner in which a military

commander had put down a riot in the streets. All this, however, was but the ebullience of youth. Montgomery resumed his editorship and kept at it for more than thirty years, through the stormy period of the Napoleonic wars and their aftermath. He led a busy life, lecturing on poetry and advocating the cause of the Bible Society and foreign missions in many parts of the country. He rejoiced at the abolition of the slave trade and greatly befriended the chimney sweepers of his own and other cities. In 1833 he was given a pension of £200 a year, but his longer poems have not been able to hold a high place in literature. In his later years he was sometimes embarrassed by confusion with Robert Montgomery, whose work was so caustically reviewed by Macaulay. He died in his sleep and was given a public funeral.

Montgomery's *Songs of Zion* (1822) followed the old idea of imitations of the Psalms and really included some of his best work. The author said that he would not pretend to have succeeded better than those who had gone before him but he "would venture to hope that, by avoiding the rugged literalism of some, and the diffusive paraphrases of others, he may, in a few instances, have approached nearer than either of them have generally done to the ideal model of what devotional poems, in a modern tongue; grounded upon the subjects of ancient psalms, yet suited for Christian edification, ought to

be." Notable is the version of Psalm 23, beginning,

"The Lord is my Shepherd, no want shall I know ;
 I feed in green pastures, safe-folded I rest ;
 He leadeth my soul where the still waters flow,
 Restores me when wandering, redeems when opprest."

To Psalm 72 eight stanzas were given, and from these such selection has been made as to give the author's best-known missionary hymn, first sung at a Moravian Christmas festival in 1821:

"Hail to the Lord's anointed,
 King David's greater Son!
 Hail, in the time appointed,
 His reign on earth begun!
 He comes to break oppression,
 To set the captive free,
 To take away transgression,
 And rule in equity.

"He comes, with succor needy,
 To those who suffer wrong;
 To help the poor and needy,
 And bid the weak be strong;
 To give them songs for sighing,
 Their darkness turn to light,
 Whose souls, condemned and dying,
 Were precious in his sight.

"He shall come down like showers
 Upon the fruitful earth,
 And love, joy, hope, like flowers,
 Spring in his path to birth;
 Before him on the mountains
 Shall peace, the herald, go,
 And righteousness in fountains
 From hill to valley flow.

"For him shall prayer unceasing
And daily vows ascend,
His kingdom still increasing—
A kingdom without end;
The tide of time shall never
His covenant remove;
His name shall stand forever;
That name to us is Love."

While they may not surpass this one in general acceptance there are some other hymns by Montgomery—"Forever with the Lord," "In the hour of trial," "Prayer is the soul's sincere desire," "Angels, from the realms of glory"—that are of far deeper spiritual quality.

"Forever with the Lord!"
Amen! so let it be!
Life from the dead is in that word—
'Tis immortality.
Here in the body pent,
Absent from him, I roam,
Yet nightly pitch my moving tent
A day's march nearer home.

"My Father's house on high,
Home of my soul, how near,
At times, to faith's foreseeing eye,
Thy golden gates appear:
Ah! then my spirit faints
To reach the land I love,
The bright inheritance of saints,
Jerusalem above.

"Forever with the Lord!
 Father, if 'tis thy will,
 The promise of that faithful word
 E'en here to me fulfill:
 Be thou at my right hand;
 Then can I never fail;
 Uphold thou me, and I shall stand;
 Fight, and I must prevail."

HEBER AND THE ROMANTICISTS

Montgomery may be said to stand for the Moravians and Nonconformists. High-Church interest in the missionary movement was represented by Reginald Heber (1783-1826), a brilliant but somewhat contradictory figure in the history of hymnody.

Heber came of an ancient Yorkshire family. His father had inherited the estate of Hodnet in Shropshire and as lord of the manor had presented himself to the living. The son received excellent early training, passed in due course to Brasenose College, Oxford, and won the Newdigate prize with his poem "Palestine," publicly delivered amid extraordinary enthusiasm. In 1804 he was fellow of All Souls, the next two years he spent in travel, and then in 1807 he took holy orders and himself became rector of the family living at Hodnet. In 1817 he became canon of Saint Asaph and in 1822 preacher at Lincoln's Inn. Everywhere his kind and charitable disposition won friends. After he had twice refused the bishopric of Calcutta, he finally accepted the respon-

sibility, the diocese then including all of British India. As usual, he threw himself into his work with energy and devotion, but within three years he broke under the strain, and he died at a comparatively early age.

In February, 1819, a royal letter asked that a special offering for foreign missions be made in all the churches of Great Britain. Doctor Shipley, dean of Saint Asaph, had appointed the morning of Whit-Sunday, May 30, for the offering in the parish church at Wrexham, of which he was the vicar. He had also arranged for some special Sunday-evening lectures, and his son-in-law, Reginald Heber, had come to deliver the first. On Saturday evening the bishop asked the poet to write something that could be used in connection with the missionary service the next day. Heber retired to another part of the room and within a short while brought to him the first draft of his well-known hymn.

“From Greenland’s icy mountains,
From India’s coral strand;
Where Afric’s sunny fountains
Roll down their golden sand;
From many an ancient river,
From many a palmy plain,
They call us to deliver
Their land from error’s chain.

“What though the spicy breezes
Blow soft o’er Ceylon’s isle;
Though every prospect pleases
And only man is vile?

In vain, with lavish kindness,
 The gifts of God are strown;
 The heathen in his blindness
 Bows down to wood and stone.

"Can we, whose souls are lighted
 By wisdom from on high,
 Can we to men benighted
 The lamp of life deny?
 Salvation! Oh, salvation!
 The joyful sound proclaim,
 Till earth's remotest nation
 Has learned Messiah's name.

"Waft, waft, ye winds, his story,
 And you, ye waters, roll,
 Till, like a sea of glory,
 It spreads from pole to pole;
 Till o'er our ransomed nature
 The Lamb, for sinners slain,
 Redeemer, King, Creator,
 In bliss returns to reign."

This hymn, like many another, shows the pitfalls of too great facility. Some of the lines certainly do not reach a high level of verse, and one can have at least a little sympathy with the Ceylonese. On the whole, Heber is seen to better advantage in the lofty lyric originally written for Trinity Sunday and sung every Lord's Day by tens of thousands of voices:

"Holy, holy, holy! Lord God Almighty!
 Early in the morning our song shall rise to thee;
 Holy, holy, holy! merciful and mighty!
 God in Three Persons, blessed Trinity!"

This expression of praise and adoration is important as representing the author's interest in the liturgical hymn, in which he anticipated some of the writers of the Oxford Movement. Strong also in its way is "The Son of God goes forth to war." Of very different quality, however, is another poem in praise of the Saviour:

"Brightest and best of the sons of the morning,
Dawn on our darkness and lend us thine aid!
Star of the East, the horizon adorning,
Guide where our infant Redeemer is laid."

This last hymn has historical significance far beyond what its intrinsic merit would suggest. On the basis of it and others like it, Heber, strange as it may seem, may even be said to have led in the deterioration of hymnody. The point is, of course, one calling for proof.

By the year 1810 Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Scott had all written their best poems, and Byron had appeared on the scene. Romanticism was in full swing, and within the next two decades the flowing meters and the sentimentality of much secular poetry were brought over into the field of religious verse. Byron wrote his *Hebrew Melodies* "at the request of a friend." The titles are highly suggestive of his mood: "My soul is dark," "I saw thee weep," "All is vanity, saith the preacher," "When coldness wraps this suffering clay." The new influence had been anticipated even by Charles Wesley;

but with Heber, who grew up under the spell of Scott and Byron, it came to fulfillment. For something suggesting "Brightest and best of the sons of the morning" one need go no further than "Hail to the Chief, who in triumph advances." Could the facile and versatile poet have looked forward some years and seen hymns reminiscent of the music halls, he would doubtless have been aghast; yet this secularization was but the outgrowth of his own florid imagery and loose structure. It was with abundant reason that John Mason Neale later found his meters "fantastic, the poetic merit slight, and the tone quite as fitted to the drawing room as the church."

That, however, was not all. Heber not only composed religious poems in light and fanciful vein, but also seems to have desired to impose a definitely romantic hymn book on the church. While he intended to have some selections from earlier writers, what he wanted especially was to represent the great lyrical outburst of the contemporary school of poets. To this end he sought the co-operation of his literary friends, though in the end only Henry Hart Milman submitted contributions. The whole idea awakened little enthusiasm on the part of representative churchmen. The Bishop of London was interested but felt that the time was not ripe for such a book, and the work was still unpublished when Heber died. The next year, however, through the agency of his

widow, it was issued by the publisher Murray, not as a hymn book but as a rich octavo, with the title, *Hymns, written and adapted to the weekly church service of the year*. There were fifty-seven pieces by Heber and twelve by Milman, and the book was successful, going through numerous editions in different forms. It might have awakened even greater response if it had not been eclipsed by *The Christian Year*, which appeared about the same time.

It thus appears that Heber was paradoxical in his work and influence. Of evangelistic temper, he also revered the Anglican tradition. In one way he lowered the tone of hymnody; in another he looked forward to those who elevated it. He passed off the scene just as Keble appeared on the horizon. Had he flourished twenty years later, he would doubtless have been a leader in the Oxford Movement. As it is, no matter what points may be made against him, he must be given credit for his emphasis on the liturgical hymn and for his part in giving this a place in the worship of the Church of England.

Another author who represented the romantic influence in hymnody was the friend of Byron, the popular song-writer, Thomas Moore (1779-1852). In 1816 this poet published a volume of *Sacred Songs* marked by all the limpid meters to which he was accustomed. In his way, however, Moore was an artist. He cultivated the sentimental note until

it was natural with him; and just as in "The Last Rose of Summer" he wrote at least one song that has survived, so in "Come, ye disconsolate" he produced at least one hymn that has touched the heart of humanity. The third stanza of the hymn as it is commonly used was later composed by Thomas Hastings. To Moore, however, belongs the original inspiration.

"Come, ye disconsolate, where'er ye languish;
Come to the mercy-seat, fervently kneel;
Here bring your wounded hearts, here tell your anguish,
Earth has no sorrow that Heaven cannot heal.

"Joy of the desolate, light of the straying,
Hope of the penitent, fadeless and pure;
Here speaks the Comforter, tenderly saying,
'Earth has no sorrow that Heaven cannot cure.'"

VII

THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

THE Oxford Movement was a spiritual protest in the second quarter of the century against industrialism and excessive emphasis on practical reform. For years England had striven for the amelioration of political and social conditions, and in the brief reign of William IV (1830-1837) there crystallized tendencies that had been at work for half a century. In rapid succession came the first great bill for parliamentary reform, the abolition of slavery in the colonies, a new factory act, and a new poor law. Just before the reign began, moreover, in 1828, there was Catholic Emancipation; and within a few years of its closing came the reform of the penal code, municipal reform, penny postage, the Anti-Corn Law movement, and all the agitation of the Chartists. Dickens as well as Macaulay was a representative figure, and Elizabeth Barrett showed ready sympathy with any liberal or humanitarian effort.

Somehow with all of the good work, partly even because of it, there were earnest men who had misgivings, and who felt that England was in danger of losing her soul. They were convinced that the

Established Church had drifted so far from old moorings that it could be saved only by a new insistence on the continuity of the Church from the time of Christ and the apostles. For a while their feeling was inarticulate, but on July 14, 1833, it found voice in a remarkable sermon on "National Apostasy" preached at Oxford by John Keble, who had already issued *The Christian Year* and was at the time professor of poetry at the university. As the movement developed, its real leader became John Henry Newman, vicar of Saint Mary's, the university church, who had returned from Rome just a few days before Keble delivered his sermon. Another prominent adherent was Edward B. Pusey, who had an exceptionally high reputation for scholarship. These men and their associates were for the most part young and of idealistic temper, and they made a frontal attack on the tendencies of the age with a series of *Tracts for the Times*. There was much honest difference of opinion; several men felt that there was an undue drift toward Rome; and with Tract XC, appearing in 1841, Newman precipitated a crisis by declaring that the Thirty-Nine Articles were not necessarily at variance with the tenets of the Roman Catholic Church. The tract was formally condemned by the Oxford authorities, and two years later Newman resigned his living. In 1845, forced on by the experience of two of his followers, he entered the Roman Catholic

communion; and a few other men prominent in the movement did likewise. The effect on England was profound, and homes were even rent asunder by religious controversy.

On hymnody as well as on literature in general the Oxford Movement left its impress. As hymn books representing the new principles began to appear, Newman wrote the highly provocative Tract LXXV, "On the Roman Breviary as embodying the substance of the devotional services of the Church Catholic." He maintained that the Breviary was a treasure of devotion of which the Roman Church had defrauded the church at large by retaining the Latin form, and that the Church of England owed it to itself to reappropriate the best of what it had lost. In an appendix, moreover, he gave one hundred and twenty-three pages of the Breviary which he had translated, including ten of the Office Hymns which he had rendered in English verse. Before long there appeared a genuine hymnologist, John Mason Neale, a master of post-classic Latin and a pioneer in the translation of the hymns of the early Greek church. In 1850 this notable figure set forth his ideas in an article in *The Christian Remembrancer*, in which he dealt contemptuously with the current evangelical hymnody, and hardly more favorably with the work of some of the Oxford translators. What he suggested was a better selection and translation of the Breviary

hymns, with the inclusion of just twelve or fifteen of the best of those in English. A few years later, however, he had advanced from this position, and he then proposed that the Church of England should forego the use of Protestant hymns altogether, restricting itself to English versions of the pre-Reformation hymns. He maintained, moreover, that the Gregorian music was the only music that could have the approval of the Church universal. The hymn book that he brought out as the embodiment of his theories had only the slightest success. Indeed, it could hardly have been expected to succeed in a large way. All of the forces working together, however, at length culminated in the great publication, *Hymns Ancient and Modern for use in the services of the Church: with accompanying tunes compiled and arranged by William Henry Monk* (1861). This work contained two hundred and seventy-three hymns, with provision for days of the week, feasts, fasts, saints' days, including the Annunciation and Purification of "the Blessed Virgin Mary," and sixty-seven "General Hymns." Approximately two fifths were translated or paraphrased from the Latin, and ten numbers were from German sources. There was naturally some opposition; one writer, Edward Harper, in *Strictures on Hymns Ancient and Modern*, denounced the production as "treason to the Church of England." The book, however, had unquestioned success. It

immediately took rank as a standard publication and it determined the type and tone of the hymnody of the Established Church.

In general, it may be said that the Oxford Movement greatly enhanced the literary quality of the English hymn. Those who wrote under its influence were men of scholarship and culture, and they gave to their productions such finish as could not easily be surpassed. Further, as Benson reminds us,¹ the movement put the singing of hymns in the Church of England on a new basis. Formerly the hymn was a sign of dissent; it had been thrust upon the church by the force of revival enthusiasm on the outside. A "lawless novelty" of the Evangelicals, it was something to be tolerated and endured. Now, however, research into things primitive had given a new conception, and the hymn was revealed as being not so much evangelical as Catholic. For the orthodox Anglican, accordingly, the part of the worship given to it assumed a new dignity. Still another contribution was the enrichment of English church song by the addition of a large number of deeply spiritual selections drawn from early Greek and Latin sources. These sources for centuries had been practically unexplored, and "it is doubtful if anything short of Tractarian principles, or any urgency less than the Oxford upheaval, would have had the force to overcome the deep prejudices and deliber-

¹*The English Hymn*, pp. 497-499.

ate ignorance that had kept the old church hymns outside the pale of Protestant sympathy." Now, however, there was a revival of mysticism; more than one poet yearned for the other world; and in art an outlet was found in Pre-Raphaelitism. Finally, the Oxford Movement definitely established the place of the liturgical hymn in worship. The evangelical hymn as cultivated by Wesley was the voice of personal experience. The liturgical hymn, however, was related to the hour of worship, the church season or occasion, the ordinance and sacrament. It was the voice of the Church as a whole. Wither had had the vision two hundred years before; Heber had looked forward to the day of fulfillment; it remained for the Tractarians fully to realize the ideal.

KEBLE

John Keble (1792-1866), son of the Rev. John Keble, after excellent early training by his father, entered Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where he had a career of great brilliance, winning at nineteen a fellowship at Oriel. He remained at Oxford until 1823 as examiner or tutor, but, having always before him the ideal of a parish priest, he left and spent several years at Fairford in Gloucestershire in order to be near his father in his declining years, he and his brother meanwhile serving two small and poorly endowed curacies. In 1827 he published *The Chris-*

tian Year. This was the most widely read book of religious verse of the century. For fifty years it averaged not less than three editions a year, and it is still in demand. In 1831 Keble succeeded Milman as professor of poetry at Oxford, and something of his theory may be seen from his statement that all true poets are Tories. In 1833 he preached his notable sermon on "National Apostasy," and in 1835 became vicar of Hursley, near Winchester, where he spent the latter years of his life. He was firmly impressed with "deep submission to authority, implicit reverence for the Catholic tradition, firm belief in the divine prerogative of the priesthood, the real nature of the sacraments, and the danger of independent speculation." At the same time he wrote only four of the *Tracts for the Times*, and Newman's defection to Rome was perhaps the greatest sorrow of his life.

Keble was a religious poet rather than a hymn writer. Some of his verses, however, have been very helpful in worship. The poem most drawn upon is that for Evening, the second in *The Christian Year*. There are fourteen stanzas in the whole, and selected ones make up the hymn. It was the Rev. Henry Venn Elliott, brother of Charles Elliott, who in 1835 put into his *Psalms and Hymns* a selection of four stanzas beginning with "Sun of my soul, thou Saviour dear." To-day six are in common use.

"Sun of my soul, thou Saviour dear,
It is not night if thou be near;
Oh, may no earth-born cloud arise
To hide thee from thy servant's eyes.

"When the soft dews of kindly sleep
My wearied eyelids gently steep,
Be my last thought, how sweet to rest
Forever on my Saviour's breast.

"Abide with me from morn till eve,
For without thee I cannot live;
Abide with me when night is nigh,
For without thee I dare not die.

"If some poor, wandering child of thine
Have spurned to-day the voice divine,
Now, Lord, the gracious work begin;
Let him no more lie down in sin.

"Watch by the sick; enrich the poor
With blessings from thy boundless store;
Be every mourner's sleep to-night,
Like infants' slumbers, pure and light.

"Come near and bless us when we wake,
Ere through the world our way we take,
Till in the ocean of thy love,
We lose ourselves in heaven above."

NEWMAN

The career of John Henry Newman (1801-1890) was that of a restless soul in quest of peace. The son of a London banker, he was reared in comfortable circumstances; and even in his youth he proved to be a serious student of theology and the Bible.

Having graduated at Trinity College, Oxford, in 1821, he took pupils and read for a fellowship at Oriel. To this he was elected in 1822. He also served a little later as tutor at Oriel, and by 1828 had become vicar of Saint Mary's, which was the university as well as a parish church. In course of time he exerted profound influence on the religious life of Oxford, and as his work became known, upon all England. In 1832, with Richard Hurrell Froude, who was traveling for his health, he visited Rome. For the seeker after truth the time was one of great mental excitement, and he had a season of illness while away. He returned to England just a few days before Keble preached his famous sermon. By 1839 his influence at Oxford was supreme; three years later he was in retirement; and in 1845 he formally entered the Roman communion. For several years thereafter, because of the dissension he had aroused, he was under a cloud with the English people; and this was not dispelled until he issued the *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* (1864). Kingsley in reviewing J. A. Froude's *History of England* had made a slighting reference, and Newman in his reply took occasion fully to reveal the sincerity of his motives. Ordained to the Catholic priesthood in 1846, in 1854 he became rector of the Catholic University of Dublin, and in 1879 he was elevated to the cardinalate.

In connection with Newman's famous hymn it is

well to recall that this was written while he was still a young clergyman laboring under great mental and social stress. England was in the throes of the Reform Bill, and the future of the church was uncertain. The author himself was highly impressionable, and so sensitive that he would cross himself before going into the dark. "The thought came to me," he said, while on the Continent early in 1833, "that deliverance is wrought not by the many but by the few, not by bodies but by persons. . . . I began to think that I had a mission." It was in this mood that he wrote his prayer for guidance while on a ship bound for Marseilles:

"Lead, kindly Light, amid th' encircling gloom,
 Lead thou me on!
 The night is dark, and I am far from home;
 Lead thou me on!
 Keep thou my feet; I do not ask to see
 The distant scene; one step enough for me.

"I was not ever thus, nor prayed that thou
 Shouldst lead me on;
 I loved to choose and see my path, but now
 Lead thou me on!
 I loved the garish day, and spite of fears,
 Pride ruled my will. Remember not past years.

"So long thy power has led me, sure it still
 Will lead me on
 O'er moor and fen, o'er crag and torrent, till
 The night is gone;
 And with the morn those angel faces smile
 Which I have loved long since, and lost awhile!"

FABER

Frederick William Faber (1814-1863) was educated at Harrow and Balliol College, Oxford, and in 1837 became fellow of University College. He took holy orders and in 1843 was appointed rector of Elton in Huntingdonshire. An enthusiastic follower of Newman, in 1845 he also went to the Church of Rome, and, known as Father Wilfrid, he spent some time in the Oratory in Birmingham. In temperament, however, the two friends were not exactly sympathetic; they worked best apart; and in course of time Faber went to London to establish a branch of the Oratory.² Here he was even more extreme in his devotion to the Virgin and his submission to the Pope. One of his best hymns is "My God, how wonderful thou art!" In the well-known "Faith of our fathers" he evidently had a meaning somewhat different from that frequently attached to the words. Others of his hymns are characterized by a finely mystical quality.

"O Paradise! O Paradise!
Who doth not crave for rest?
Who would not seek the happy land
Where they that loved are blest?

Where loyal hearts and true
Stand ever in the light,
All rapture through and through
In God's most holy sight.

² See article "Faber and his Hymns," by Ira Seymour Dodd, in the *Bookman*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 427 (June, 1914).

"O Paradise! O Paradise!
 The world is growing old;
 Who would not be at rest and free,
 Where love is never cold?—*Ref.*

"O Paradise! O Paradise!
 We long to sin no more;
 We long to be as pure on earth
 As on thy spotless shore.—*Ref.*

"O Paradise! O Paradise!
 We shall not wait for long;
 E'en now the loving ear may catch
 Faint fragments of thy song.—*Ref.*

"Lord Jesus, King of Paradise,
 O keep us in thy love,
 And guide us to that happy land
 Of perfect rest above."—*Ref.*

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"Hark, hark, my soul! angelic songs are swelling
 O'er earth's green fields, and ocean's wave-beat shore;
 How sweet the truth those blessèd strains are telling
 Of that new life when sin shall be no more!
 Angels of Jesus, angels of light,
 Singing to welcome the pilgrims of the night!

"Far, far away, like bells at evening pealing,
 The voice of Jesus sounds o'er land and sea,
 And laden souls, by thousands meekly stealing,
 Kind Shepherd, turn their weary steps to thee.
 Angels of Jesus, angels of light,
 Singing to welcome the pilgrims of the night!

"Angels, sing on! your faithful watches keeping,
Sing us sweet fragments of the songs above,
Till morning's joy shall end the night of weeping,
And life's long shadows break in cloudless love.
Angels of Jesus, angels of light,
Singing to welcome the pilgrims of the night!"

NEALE AND OTHER TRANSLATORS

John Mason Neale (1818-1866) was close to Faber in spirit. His life was not one of worldly success, but as idealist, scholar, and humanitarian, he must have experienced much spiritual happiness. At Trinity College, Cambridge, he took high rank and as a graduate several times won the Seatonian prize with his religious poems. He was ordained a deacon in 1841, and a priest the following year. Soon after his marriage he went on a voyage to Madeira for his health, but returned not greatly improved. In 1846, on a very meager salary, he settled at East Grinstead, Sussex, as warden of Sackville College, which was not a college in the ordinary sense but, rather, a home for the aged or unfortunate. One of the chief efforts of his later years was that of assisting in the founding of the Sisterhood of Saint Margaret. The great work of Neale's life, however, was that as a translator of the hymns of the early Greek and Latin churches. A pioneer in the field, he made exhaustive research into sources both in England and on the Continent; and in 1862 he brought out a little volume, *Hymns of*

the Eastern Church translated, including "The day is past and over," "Christian, dost thou see them?" and "Art thou weary, art thou languid?" this last being the paraphrase of the hymn of Stephen the Sabaite, notable not only for its spirit but also its antiphonal form:

"Art thou weary, art thou languid,
 Art thou sore distressed?
 'Come to me,' saith One, 'and, coming,
 Be at rest.'

"Hath he marks to lead me to him,
 If he be my Guide?—
 'In his feet and hands are wound-prints,
 And his side.'

"Is there diadem, as Monarch,
 That his brow adorns?—
 'Yea, a crown, in very surety,
 But of thorns.'

"If I find him, if I follow,
 What his guerdon here?—
 'Many a sorrow, many a labor,
 Many a tear.'

"If I still hold closely to him,
 What hath he at last?—
 'Sorrow vanquished, labor ended,
 Jordan passed.'

"If I ask him to receive me,
 Will he say me nay?
 'Not till earth and not till heaven
 Pass away.'

"Finding, following, keeping, struggling,
Is he sure to bless?

Saints, apostles, prophets, martyrs

Answer, "Yes." " " "

Of the numerous hymns drawn from the Latin, best known are the renderings of portions of the *De Contemptu Mundi* of Bernard of Cluny. According to common editing these are to be found in four hymns, "Brief life is here our portion," "The world is very evil," "For thee, O dear, dear country," and "Jerusalem the golden." As has previously been suggested, in theme and to some extent in the lines these have connection with the hymns by W. Prid and "F. B. P."

"Jerusalem the golden,
With milk and honey blest!
Beneath thy contemplation
Sink heart and voice oppressed:
I know not, oh, I know not
What joys await me there;
What radiancy of glory,
What bliss beyond compare.

"They stand, those halls of Zion,
All jubilant with song,
And bright with many an angel,
And all the martyr throng;
The Prince is ever in them,
The daylight is serene;
The shadows of the blessèd
Are decked in glorious sheen.

"There is the throne of David;
 And there, from care released,
 The song of them that triumph,
 The shout of them that feast;
 And they who with their Leader
 Have conquered in the fight,
 Forever and forever
 Are clad in robes of white.

"O sweet and blessed country,
 Shall I e'er see thy face?
 O sweet and blessed country,
 Shall I e'er win thy grace?
 Exult, O dust and ashes,
 The Lord shall be thy part;
 His only, his forever
 Thou shalt be, and thou art."

Edward Caswall (1814-1878) attended Brasenose College, Oxford, and won honors. On leaving he took holy orders. In 1850, a few months after his wife died of cholera, he went over to the Church of Rome, and he was admitted to the oratory at Edgbaston, Birmingham, over which Newman presided at the time. He ranks next to Neale among the translators of the period, giving us among other things, "Jesus, the very thought of thee," drawn from the *De Nomine Jesu* of Bernard of Clairvaux. He also wrote original hymns, one of the best being "When morning gilds the skies."

"Jesus, the very thought of thee
 With sweetness fills my breast;
 But sweeter far thy face to see,
 And in thy presence rest.

"Nor voice can sing, nor heart can frame,
Nor can the memory find
A sweeter sound than thy blest name,
O Saviour of mankind.

"O Hope of every contrite heart,
O Joy of all the meek,
To those who fall how kind thou art,
How good to those who seek!

"But what to those who find? Ah! this,
Nor tongue nor pen can show;
The love of Jesus, what it is,
None but his loved ones know.

"Jesus, our only joy be thou,
As thou our prize wilt be;
Jesus, be thou our glory now,
And through eternity."

Several other men in the period gave themselves to the work of translation, and more than one made English versions of the "Hymn to the Saviour" of Clement of Alexandria, the earliest original Christian hymn known. The most successful of these, however, is that by the American, Henry Martyn Dexter (1821-1890). This minister was a graduate of Yale and Andover; in 1849 he became pastor of the Berkeley Street Congregational Church, Boston, and there remained until 1867, when he became editor of *The Congregationalist*. He did excellent work in the field of church history.

"Shepherd of tender youth,
 Guiding in love and truth
 Through devious ways;
 Christ our triumphant King,
 We come thy name to sing;
 Hither our children bring
 To shout thy praise.

"Thou art our holy Lord,
 The all-subduing Word,
 Healer of strife:
 Thou didst thyself abase,
 That from sin's deep disgrace
 Thou mightest save our race,
 And give us life.

"Thou art the great High Priest;
 Thou hast prepared the feast
 Of heavenly love;
 While in our mortal pain
 None calls on thee in vain;
 Help thou dost not disdain,
 Help from above.

"Ever be thou our guide,
 Our shepherd and our pride,
 Our staff and song:
 Jesus, thou Christ of God,
 By thy perennial word
 Lead us where thou hast trod,
 Make our faith strong.

"So now, and till we die,
 Sound we thy praises high,
 And joyful sing:
 Infants, and the glad throng
 Who to thy church belong,
 Unite to swell the song
 To Christ our King."

PROMINENT WRITERS OF THE CHURCH OF
ENGLAND

It may now be in order to consider several writers who have individual rather than collective significance, and who, while they cannot be claimed for the Oxford Movement, nevertheless felt the spirit of that great influence. Some were distinguished churchmen, and in every case there were at least one or two hymns of much more than ordinary worth.

Henry Francis Lyte (1793-1847) was of a temper and character that approached saintliness. He lost his father when he was still a very young child. In course of time he made his way to Trinity College, Dublin, where he had a distinguished career, on three occasions winning prizes for his poems. Having taken orders in 1815, after service in various fields he in 1823 became rector of the church at Lower Brixham, Devonshire, where he remained until his death. The work in the rough fishing village was heavy at times, but the simple, gentle minister was both beloved and revered. In his later years he had to struggle more and more against failing health. Having spent the winter of 1846-47 in southern Europe, he had come home to be for the summer with his church, and for weeks had lain extremely ill. On Sunday, September 4, the last Sabbath day that he was permitted to remain, he startled his family by announcing his intention to preach. He not only preached but also assisted in

celebrating holy communion. He was greatly exhausted; nevertheless, as the shadows lengthened he walked by the seashore, and that night he placed in the hands of a member of the family the manuscript of the hymn which will ever be connected with his name. The next day he started for the south, but did not live to complete the journey. In the full form of the hymn there are eight stanzas. It is doubtful if there ever was one that was written under more poignant circumstances.

“Abide with me! fast falls the eventide;
The darkness deepens; Lord, with me abide.
When other helpers fail and comforts flee,
Help of the helpless, O abide with me.

“Swift to its close ebbs out life’s little day;
Earth’s joys grow dim, its glories pass away;
Change and decay in all around I see;
O thou who changest not, abide with me.

“I need thy presence every passing hour;
What but thy grace can foil the tempter’s power?
Who like thyself my guide and stay can be?
Through cloud and sunshine, O abide with me.

“Hold thou thy cross before my closing eyes;
Shine through the gloom and point me to the skies;
Heaven’s morning breaks and earth’s vain shadows flee;
In life, in death, O Lord, abide with me.”

George Croly (1780-1860) was born in Dublin and educated at the university there. After taking orders he served in Ireland as a curate until 1810,

when he went to London and devoted himself to literature. His publications became numerous, being mainly on historical, biographical, and scriptural subjects. His novels, *Salathiel*, dealing with the fall of Jerusalem, and *Marston*, a romance of the French Revolution, in style reflect the influence of De Quincey and in subject matter and temper that of Scott, Byron, and Mrs. Radcliffe. In 1835 in London Croly succeeded to the united benefices of Saint Stephen's Walbrook, and Saint Benet Sherehog. With all of his other work he wrote several hymns and once at least he struck a deep note of fervid spirituality.

"Spirit of God, descend upon my heart;
Wean it from earth, through all its pulses move;
Stoop to my weakness, mighty as thou art,
And make me love thee as I ought to love.

"I ask no dream, no prophet ecstasies;
No sudden rending of the veil of clay;
No angel visitant, no opening skies;
But take the dimness of my soul away.

"Hast thou not bid us love thee, God and King?
All, all thine own, soul, heart, and strength, and mind;
I see thy cross; there teach my heart to cling:
O let me seek thee, and O let me find.

"Teach me to feel that thou art always nigh;
Teach me the struggles of the soul to bear,
To check the rising doubt, the rebel sigh;
Teach me the patience of unanswered prayer.

“Teach me to love thee as thine angels love,
 One holy passion filling all my frame,
 The kindling of the heaven-descended dove,
 My heart an altar and thy love the flame.”

Christopher Wordsworth (1807-1885) was the son of Christopher Wordsworth, brother of the poet laureate and for more than twenty years master of Trinity College, Cambridge. He passed from Winchester to Trinity, where he was distinguished both as scholar and athlete. For eight years he was master of Harrow, in 1844 he became canon at Westminster, later for nineteen years he discharged faithfully the duties of a small living in Berkshire, and then in 1869 he became Bishop of Lincoln. Among his hymns are “O day of rest and gladness,” “Hark! the sound of holy voices,” “Father of all, from land and sea,” and “See the Conqueror comes in triumph.” In general, he strove to teach sound doctrine, whether his hymns were poetical or not.

“O day of rest and gladness,
 O day of joy and light,
 O balm of care and sadness,
 Most beautiful, most bright;
 On thee the high and lowly,
 Bending before the throne,
 Sing ‘Holy, Holy, Holy,’
 To the great Three in One.”

Henry Alford (1810-1871) was the son of a clergyman of the Church of England of the same

name. He was graduated with honors at Cambridge in 1832 and began service in the church as curate of Ampton. For fourteen years before his death he was Dean of Canterbury. He made a great reputation for scholarship, chiefly on the basis of his Greek Testament. Some of the best known of his hymns, such as "Come, ye thankful people, come," and "Forward be our watchword," show little poetic faculty; but once at least his muse took wing and in a noble hymn set to music by Dykes he conferred a legacy on the church.

"Ten thousand times ten thousand,
In sparkling raiment bright,
The armies of the ransom'd saints
Throng up the steepes of light:
'Tis finished; all is finished,
Their fight with death and sin;
Fling open wide the golden gates,
And let the victors in.

"What rush of Alleluias
Fills all the earth and sky!
What ringing of a thousand harps
Bespeaks the triumph nigh!
O day, for which creation
And all its tribes were made!
O joy, for all its former woes
A thousandfold repaid!

"Oh, then what raptured greetings
On Canaan's happy shore,
What knitting sever'd friendships up
Where partings are no more!

Then eyes with joy shall sparkle
 That brimm'd with tears of late;
 Orphans no longer fatherless,
 Nor widows desolate.

“Bring, then, thy great salvation,
 Thou Lamb for sinners slain,
 Fill up the roll of thine elect,
 Then take thy power and reign:
 Appear, Desire of nations,
 Thine exiles long for home;
 Show in the heavens thy promis'd sign;
 Thou Prince and Saviour, come!”

John Ernest Bode (1816-1874) was educated at Eton and at Christ Church, Oxford. In course of time he became rector at Westwall in Oxfordshire and at Castle Camps in Cambridgeshire; and he also served as tutor and classical examiner at Oxford. It was for the confirmation of two sons and a daughter that he wrote “O Jesus, I have promised.”

“O Jesus, I have promised
 To serve thee to the end;
 Be thou forever near me,
 My Master and my Friend;
 I shall not fear the battle
 If thou art by my side,
 Nor wander from the pathway
 If thou wilt be my guide.”

Sir Henry W. Baker, Bart. (1821-1877), lived a life of great spiritual culture. He was graduated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and succeeded to the baronetcy in 1851, but after taking holy orders

in 1844 he held the living of Monkland, Herefordshire, until his death. He was also a musician, and his work has unusual smoothness of rhythm. In saintliness of character Baker recalls Lyte; his diction has the simplicity of that of Keble, and sometimes he has the note of otherworldliness that we find in Faber. He wrote numerous hymns, but is best known for his rendering of Psalm 23:

“The King of love my Shepherd is,
Whose goodness faileth never;
I nothing lack if I am his
And he is mine forever.”

William Walsham How (1823-1897), after leaving Oxford, held various high positions in the church, including those of Suffragan Bishop of East London and Bishop of Wakefield. His hymns are marked by simple and beautiful diction, but it cannot be said that they have any great inspiration or enthusiasm. Occasionally, however, they strike fire, as in “O Jesus, thou art standing,” “For all the saints, who from their labors rest,” and the offertory hymn, “We give thee but thine own.”

“O Jesus, thou art standing
Outside the fast-closed door,
In lowly patience waiting
To pass the threshold o’er;
We bear the name of Christians,
His name and sign we bear;
Oh, shame, thrice shame upon us,
To keep him standing there.”

John Ellerton (1826-1893), after graduation at Trinity College, Cambridge, entered the church and served in several places either as curate or vicar. He did much translating and editing, and also wrote numerous original pieces, but is now chiefly remembered for his excellent hymn for the close of worship.

"Saviour, again to thy dear name we raise
With one accord our parting hymn of praise;
We stand to bless thee e'er our worship cease,
Then, still delaying, wait thy word of peace."

Samuel J. Stone (1839-1901) was educated at Charterhouse and Pembroke College, Oxford. Entering the church in 1862, he became curate of Windsor; in 1870 of Saint Paul's, Haggerston; and at the latter place he became vicar in 1874. His hymns show great variety, and often strike a deeply spiritual note. The best grew out of the fact that he was so stirred by the attacks made on the church in his time that he determined to write a series of twelve hymns on the Apostles' Creed. Among these were "The church's one foundation," based on the article "The Holy Catholic Church," and "Weary of earth and laden with my sin," originally written in eight stanzas on the phrase "the forgiveness of sins."

"Weary of earth, and laden with my sin,
I look at heav'n and long to enter in;
But there no evil thing may find a home;
And yet I hear a voice that bids me come.

"Sinful I am; how dare I hope to stand
In the pure glory of that holy land?
Before the whiteness of that throne appear?
Yet there are hands stretched out to draw me near.

"It is the voice of Jesus that I hear;
His are the hands stretched out to draw me near,
And his the blood that can for all atone,
And set me faultless there before the throne.

"O Great Absolver, grant my soul may wear
The lowliest garb of penitence and prayer,
That in the Father's courts my glorious dress
May be the garment of thy righteousness."

THE COMPOSERS

Much of the success of the hymns produced under the influence of the Oxford Movement, either directly or indirectly, was due to the music to which they were set; and England was blessed at the time with an unusual array of gifted composers. Commonly regarded as first among the choral writers of the new school was John B. Dykes (1833-1876), precentor of Durham Cathedral, later vicar of Saint Oswald's, Durham, and musical editor of the revised *Hymns Ancient and Modern*. He earns his place by reason of the excellence of his melodies, the fitness of his music to the words, and his glowing expressiveness of religious sentiment. He composed the tunes "Nicæa" for "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty," "Lux Benigna" for "Lead, kindly Light," "St. Agnes" for "Come, Holy Spirit,

heavenly Dove," "Cecelia" for "The King of love my Shepherd is," "Vox Angelica" for "Hark, hark, my soul! angelic songs are swelling," "Alford" for "Ten thousand times ten thousand," and many more. Newman especially acknowledged his indebtedness to him. Sir Joseph Barnby, organist and conductor, who was knighted in 1892, also composed many tunes of great beauty, though these are not always quite so spontaneous or devout as those of Dykes. He wrote, among other things, "Paradise" for "O Paradise, O Paradise," "Merrial" for "Now the day is over," "Laudes Domini" for "When morning gilds the skies," "Dunstan" for "Just as I am, without one plea," "St. Fabian" for "Jesus, I my cross have taken," and the impressive "Crossing the Bar" for the poem of the same name. Henry Smart, though blind, was by many considered the foremost conductor of his day. While he had skill in writing for ladies' voices and was capable of producing tunes purely beautiful, such as "Cecil" and "Wishart," his hymn tunes were generally robust, and his influence was singularly wholesome. Richard Redhead (1820-1901), organist of Saint Mary Magdalene, Paddington, had a style that was the most rigidly ecclesiastical of any composer of the century. He published many books of church music and wrote numerous Introits and choral tunes. William Henry Monk (1823-1889) was influential as professor of vocal music in King's

College, London, organist of Saint Matthias, Stoke Newington, and musical editor of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*. Sir John Stainer (1840-1901), organist of Saint Paul's, London, professor of music in Oxford University, and Chevalier of the Legion of Honor in France, wrote much on musical theory and was, like Dykes, an editor of the revised *Hymns Ancient and Modern*. Edward J. Hopkins (1818-1901) was organist of Temple Church, London, and musical editor of the *Congregational Church Hymnal*. He was not as melodious as Dykes or as austere as Redhead, but, like Monk, he excelled in editing and in composing hymn tunes exactly fitted to words. A little younger than the others mentioned was the distinguished Sir Arthur Sullivan (1842-1900), who was quite as successful in reaching the popular taste in his oratorios and hymn tunes as in his light operas. All of these men did excellent work, but they were only the more prominent of many capable musicians who flourished about the middle and in the third quarter of the century. On the whole, their compositions were more stately and dignified than those of the American, Lowell Mason, which placed greater emphasis on sentiment, and they were far removed from the gospel hymn tunes of Bradbury, Doane, and Root. To Monk and Redhead, indeed, the gospel hymns were too trivial for serious consideration.

VIII

THE UNITARIAN INFLUENCE

UNITARIANISM as a system of belief received new emphasis from the scientific temper of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Opposed to Trinitarianism, it ran directly counter to some of the tendencies we have considered; and it drew apart alike from the evangelism of Wesley, the fervor of the Missionary impulse, and the simple faith of the Oxford Movement. Resting primarily on negative implications, it denied the fall of man, the total depravity of human nature, and the vicarious atonement of Christ. It did affirm the mission of Christ to reveal the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man; but Jesus himself becomes more and more simply a man superhumanly endowed, impeccable and infallible.

The Unitarians, like other sects or denominations, date their belief back to the time of Christ and the apostles. They recall the first and great commandment, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one God," and point out that the word "trinity" as applied to the Godhead is not found in the New Testament and was not used by any Christian writer for two hundred years. They argue that

because the name did not exist the thing itself did not exist, and that from the beginning orthodox Christianity was unduly affected by Oriental speculation and Greek philosophy. At the Council of Nicæa (325 A. D.) Arius maintained that Jesus Christ was a created being, of like substance but not of the same substance as God, and his principles were formally condemned, so that they went into eclipse for over a thousand years. They received strong restatement, however, with the Italian theologian Socinus (1539-1604), they were known in England before the Reformation, and they later received such currency that in 1640 the synods of London and York issued a canon against them. Milton, Locke, and Newton were strongly affected by Arian sentiments, and gradually among the dissenting bodies of Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists there developed churches that were really Unitarian. All the while, however, this form of belief was exceedingly unpopular; and Dr. Joseph Priestley, the discoverer of oxygen, also a pastor in Suffolk and later in Birmingham, was driven to America in 1792, his books, manuscripts, and scientific apparatus being destroyed by a mob incensed on account of his opinions. It was not until 1813 that Unitarians were admitted by law to the privileges of other dissenting bodies.

It might be supposed that in such a group there would be comparatively little emphasis on hymnody.

The very disabilities under which the Unitarians labored, however, gave them coherence, and, like other groups, they included singing as a part of their worship. It is surprising to note the extent to which they depended at first on the orthodox writers. This was but natural perhaps, as so many of them had grown up in Presbyterian or Baptist churches. The situation is explained by Benson¹ as follows: "It was the refusal in 1717 of James Pierce, pastor of a psalm-singing congregation at Exeter, to continue the accustomed singing of the doxology after the psalm that marked the beginning of the end of English Presbyterianism. He might, and probably did, allege his objection to sing anything but the words of psalms. But the doxology was specifically Trinitarian"; moreover, "Presbyterianism was not destined to establish itself in England, and its meetinghouses were about to fall into the control of men of Arian theology. The congregational song of these meetings was first to come under the domination of Doctor Watts, and then to develop into a Unitarian hymnody."

ENGLISH WRITERS AND HYMN BOOKS

The first hymn book produced under such auspices was *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns for Divine Worship* (1757). This is thought to have been edited by Micaiah Towgood, Arian minister

¹*The English Hymn*, pp. 88, 130.



From The Story of the American Hymn

JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER

of James's Meeting, Exeter, and it certainly was used by his congregation. There were two hundred and eighteen psalms and hymns, Watts being supplemented by Tate and Brady, Addison, Doddridge, and Simon Browne. Other books followed; but the first to gain any extended circulation was *A Collection of Hymns and Psalms for Public and Private Worship* (1795). This had four editors, all nominally Presbyterian ministers resident at the time in London, and chief responsibility fell on Andrew Kippis and Abraham Rees. There is now a total of six hundred and ninety hymns by more than fifty authors. Watts has been edited so as to avoid whatever might "clash with the sentiments or hurt the feelings of any sincere Christian," and the other authors include not only those well known in hymnody but also Milton, Dryden, Pope, and Burns. The whole work was excellently moral, with much emphasis on the attributes of God, but it reflected a rather cold piety, and there was little, very little, personal experience with Christ.

By this time editors began to have some scruples against building up a distinctive hymnody simply by pruning orthodox compositions; moreover, individual writers of hymns were becoming prominent among the Unitarians. One of the best known was Mrs. Anna Laetitia Barbauld (1743-1825), the daughter of a dissenting minister, John Aikin, and

the wife of a dissenting minister, Rochemont Barbould, who was of French descent. Mrs. Barbould wrote among other things "Awake, my soul, lift up thine eyes," "Behold, where breathing love divine," "Jehovah reigns, let every nation hear," "Praise to God, immortal praise," and "Come, said Jesus' sacred voice." A little later flourished Sir John Bowring (1792-1872), who, though a Unitarian, is best remembered by "In the cross of Christ I glory." Bowring was a diligent student and became an astonishing linguist. As editor of the *Westminster Review* he did considerable work as a reviewer, and he later held various official appointments, being commissioner to France on commercial matters, consul at Hongkong, and governor of Hongkong. He was twice a member of Parliament and in 1854 was knighted. His hymns in general are marked by great earnestness, and, aside from the one already mentioned, two that have been accepted by all denominations are "God is love, his mercy brightens" and "Watchman, tell us of the night." Among the others are "Father of Spirits, humbly bent before thee," "How shall we praise thee, Lord of light?" and "Gently the shades of night descend."

By 1840, accordingly, the time was ripe for the notable collection, *Hymns for the Christian Church and Home*, brought together by James Martineau (1805-1900). This well-known man of letters was at the time serving as minister at Paradise Street

Chapel, Liverpool. He had previously studied divinity at Manchester College, York, and served in Dublin. In the year in which the book appeared he became professor of mental and moral philosophy in Manchester New College, and in 1857 he followed the institution to London, becoming its principal in 1869 and remaining in charge until 1885, when he resigned. In London he also served as minister of Little Portland Street Chapel. In the preface of his hymn book he emphasized worship as the natural expression of emotion, the mind being "possessed with the religious or mysterious conception of God, of life and death, of duty, of futurity." It was his endeavor to preserve the devotion of various writers but not their dogmatic theology. Not one third of the authors included were really Unitarians. Of the 650 hymns in the book, 77 were by Watts, 57 by Montgomery, 53 by Doddridge, and 43 by Charles Wesley. The collection naturally met with objection, but it quickly made its way and soon became the book most widely used by the denomination in England.

In the tenth edition (1853) was included the greatest of all hymns written by Unitarians, "Nearer, my God, to thee," originally contributed to William J. Fox's *Hymns and Anthems* (1841). The author, Sarah Flower Adams (1805-1848), was the younger of two sisters who were friends of Harriet Martineau and the young poet, Robert

Browning. Sarah Flower was tall and singularly beautiful; she had a rich contralto voice and was interested in dramatics. In 1837, three years after her marriage, she made her public appearance at the Richmond Theatre as Lady Macbeth. She was well received, but, finding the strain too great, she left the stage and gave herself to writing, hoping to revive the poetic drama. In all such ways did she overtax her powers. On the death of their father, the two sisters removed to Upper Clapton, a suburb of London, and there they became connected with the society that met in South Place Chapel, Finsbury. William J. Fox, the minister, assumed an independent position, but was generally regarded as a Unitarian. To the book that he edited Mrs. Adams contributed thirteen original hymns and some translations.

"Nearer, my God, to thee" was much tampered with by writers who sought to make it more definitely Christian and who had little to reward them for their pains. Several composers set music to the words, but it is the tune "Bethany," by Lowell Mason, that is best known in America. Numerous stories are told of the power of the hymn. Especially is it connected with the memory of the stricken President McKinley, who in his last moments repeated the words of the prayer. On the Sunday after his death it was sung in hundreds of churches throughout the land. At 3:30 on Thursday, Sep-

tember 19, 1901, the day of the burial at Canton, Ohio, all traffic in the country ceased for five minutes. People in cars stood, and those in the streets bared their heads. In Union and Madison Squares in New York vast throngs were assembled, and after the period of silence the bands played "Nearer, my God, to thee" and "Lead, kindly Light." It was such a tribute as the world seldom sees, both to the spirit of a great and good man and to the service of a deeply fervent hymn.

"Nearer, my God, to thee,
Nearer to thee!
E'en though it be a cross
That raiseth me;
Still all my song shall be,
Nearer, my God, to thee,
Nearer to thee.

"Though like the wanderer,
The sun gone down,
Darkness be over me,
My rest a stone;
Yet in my dreams I'd be
Nearer, my God, to thee,
Nearer to thee.

"There let the way appear,
Steps unto heaven;
All that thou sendest me
In mercy given:
Angels to beckon me
Nearer, my God, to thee,
Nearer to thee.

"Then, with my waking thoughts
 Bright with thy praise,
 Out of my stony griefs
 Bethel I'll raise;
 So by my woes to be
 Nearer, my God, to thee,
 Nearer to thee.

"Or if on joyful wing
 Cleaving the sky,
 Sun, moon, and stars forgot,
 Upwards I fly,
 Still all my song shall be,
 Nearer, my God, to thee,
 Nearer to thee."

The middle of the nineteenth century was in England a time of great religious ferment, and after some years Martineau felt that there was more emphasis than before on the inwardness of the religious life and more disposition to walk with God in the present, with correspondingly less reliance on the facts of sacred history. Accordingly, to meet the new temper he brought out *Hymns of Praise and Prayer* (1873), and the result showed that once more, for his group at least, he had judged aright. His hymnal, however, largely divorced as it was from New Testament record, offered a strange contrast to contemporary books more or less affected by the Oxford Movement.

AMERICAN WRITERS AND HYMN BOOKS

In America as well as England there was activity,

and the Unitarians felt free to appropriate anything that seemed good to them, no matter from what source it came. The number of hymn books produced was amazing, and this is to be accounted for by the fact that, although the Unitarians did not form a large denomination, they included within their ranks an unusually large proportion of learned men and potential editors. The most popular book just before the middle of the century was *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns for Christian Worship* (1830), edited by F. W. P. Greenwood, of King's Chapel, Boston. Within five years this reached the sixteenth edition. A little later came *Christian Hymns for Public and Private Worship* (1846), edited by Abiel A. Livermore. This contained more than nine hundred hymns, many of which were by Americans, and it also sought greater metrical variety. Special interest seems to have attached to the appearance of *Hymns for the Church of Christ* (1853), edited by Frederic H. Hedge and Frederic Dan Huntington, and regarded by the *Christian Examiner* as "the best book of hymns yet published." It included things all the way from Roman Catholic hymns and Toplady's "Rock of Ages" to the ethical verse of Emerson and William J. Fox. Hedge was for years a professor at Harvard and is best remembered for "A mighty fortress is our God," brought over into English from Luther's "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott." In 1880, going

far afield and placing theology on a much broader basis than Christianity, Frederick L. Hosmer, William C. Gannett, and J. Vilas Blake co-operated in editing *Unity Hymns and Carols*, and five years later the first two of these men brought out a book of devotional verse, *The Thought of God in Hymns and Poems*, followed in 1894 by a second series.

Perhaps the most representative editor among the Unitarians in the United States was Samuel Longfellow (1819-1892), a younger brother of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. After graduating from both college and divinity school at Harvard, this author served as pastor in Fall River, Brooklyn, and Germantown. While he was still studying theology in Cambridge, he and a fellow student, Samuel Johnson, edited *A Book of Hymns for public and private devotion* (1846). In a literary way this production set a high standard, drawing selections from several of the best-known poets of the day; and in theology the radical tendencies of the editors were only suggested. The humanitarian motive is present, and there is emphasis on the relation of the worshiper to the indwelling Spirit; but Christ is still called Lord and Saviour, and the miracles of the New Testament are also accepted. Not quite so successful was the later book, *Hymns of the Spirit* (1864), prepared by the two friends while in Europe. Christ is now not even mentioned, and Unitarianism has passed into pure theism. There is

also a loss in literary quality. Samuel Longfellow has been much commended as a devotional poet, but a critical reading of his work can hardly justify high rating. Many of his lines are labored and few pieces glow with either religious or poetic feeling. Among the best known hymns are "Holy Spirit, Truth divine," "O God, in whom we live and move," and "One holy church of God appears." The following lines, entitled "A Prayer," are representative of the stronger work:

"Life of God, within my soul
Come, and make my spirit whole!
Pour new life through every vein,
Search and heal this inward pain!

"All this restless discontent,
All these wishes vainly spent,
All this love of self and ease,
All thy searching spirit sees—

"Let them all decay and fall;
Thou, my God, be all in all;
Be my power and be my peace,
Be my freedom and release.

"Ever whisper the great thought
Which by toil is never bought;
Still reveal the glorious truth
That gives the soul perpetual youth."

The Unitarians had among their worshipers some of the foremost of American men of letters—Bryant, Emerson, H. W. Longfellow, Holmes, and

Lowell, all of whom wrote hymns that have seen service in worship. Accepted by all denominations is the beautiful hymn of Holmes:

"Lord of all being, throned afar,
Thy glory flames from sun and star;
Center and soul of ev'ry sphere,
Yet to each loving heart how near!

"Sun of our life, thy quickening ray
Sheds on our path the glow of day;
Star of our hope, thy softened light
Cheers the long watches of the night.

"Our midnight is thy smile withdrawn;
Our noontide is thy gracious dawn;
Our rainbow arch, thy mercy's sign;
All, save the clouds of sin, are thine.

"Lord of all life, below, above,
Whose light is truth, whose warmth is love,
Before thy ever-blazing throne
We ask no luster of our own.

"Grant us thy truth to make us free,
And kindling hearts that burn for thee,
Till all thy living altars claim
One holy light, one heavenly flame."

It was also a Unitarian minister, Edmund H. Sears (1810-1876), who, strangely enough, gave us two of our best-known Christmas pieces, "It came upon the midnight clear" and "Calm on the listening ear of night."

"It came upon the midnight clear,
That glorious song of old,
From angels bending near the earth
To touch their harps of gold:
'Peace on the earth, good will to men,
From heaven's all-gracious King:'
The world in solemn stillness lay,
To hear the angels sing."

The general aim of the Unitarian hymn books may be seen from the foreword to one of the later ones, which was offered "To all who desire, with Jesus of Nazareth, to worship one God, the Father, believing that the substance of all true religion is love to God and man." Theologically some might find reason for this position, but there is certainly no ethical justification for editors who changed "Jesus, Lover of my soul" to "Father, Refuge of my soul" and "Lead, kindly Light" to "Send kindly light." The Unitarians are seen at their best in a reverence for God that sometimes approached mysticism, and in a humanitarianism that anticipated the later emphasis on social service. What they lacked was best suggested by one of their own number, Oliver Wendell Holmes. In her book, *Authors and Friends*, Annie Fields quotes the poet as follows: "There are very few modern hymns which have the old ring of saintliness in them. Sometimes when I am disinclined to listen to the preacher at church, I turn to the hymn book, and when one strikes my eye, I cover the name at the bottom and

guess. It is almost invariably Watts or Wesley; after those, there are very few which are good for much." It is significant also that when Unitarian hymn writers were strongest it was most often when, like Bowring, they struck the note of personal devotion to the Saviour.

"In the cross of Christ I glory,
Towering o'er the wrecks of time;
All the light of sacred story
Gathers round its head sublime."

IX

NINETEENTH-CENTURY EVANGELICALS

IT is the purpose of the present chapter to consider a number of hymn writers of the nineteenth century who cannot be said to have been directly under the influence of the Oxford Movement, but who were nevertheless in tone and temper fervently and sometimes deeply spiritual. In some cases the work of these writers is of such sort as to anticipate the gospel hymns and songs; and sometimes a hymn written under different auspices was later set to a tune that gave it direct relation to the more popular school. It is not surprising, accordingly, that emphasis largely shifts from England to the United States. Some of the authors considered were Episcopalians; more of them, however, were Presbyterians, Congregationalists, or Baptists; and we shall also have to include the Quaker poet, John Greenleaf Whittier.

We immediately face the fact that some writers whose names are well known in hymnody were more or less detached from any special group or school. Early in the century, for instance, there flourished Sir Robert Grant (1779-1838), to whom we are

indebted for the enthusiastic hymn so often helpful in the opening of service, "O worship the King, all-glorious above." Grant was a Cambridge man of wide sympathies. He entered Parliament in 1808; in 1833 he carried through the Commons a bill guaranteeing the full rights of citizenship to the Jews; and the next year he became Governor of Bombay and was knighted. Near the close of the century we have to reckon with two names very famous in English letters. Alfred Tennyson (1809-1892), laureate of the Victorian era, has a place in hymnody by reason of his swan song, "Crossing the Bar," in which there is a truer note of faith than in all of "In Memoriam." In 1897, for the Queen's Diamond Jubilee, Rudyard Kipling (1865-) wrote his well-known "Recessional."

THE COMPOSERS

Of signal importance in the era to which we have come were the men who gave their lives to the composition of church music and who frequently by their efforts called hymns into being. As early as the period of the Revolution there appeared William Billings (1746-1800), a tanner, who in music was self-taught and not well taught, but whose genius nevertheless dominated the singing of his age. Despising rules, this worker popularized a new order of so-called fuguing pieces which held sway for many years and were commonly known as

"Yankee music." His merit is that he at least aroused the mind of the public to the importance of church music, and there is no telling what he might not have done if he had had the training of the masters in England. While he was still on the scene there appeared Oliver Holden (1765-1844), the earliest American whose tunes are still found in hymn books. This man was by trade a carpenter. Born in Shirley, Massachusetts, he went, when he was twenty-one, to Charlestown, which had been burned by the British and seemed to offer a ready field for employment. He prospered, and gave to the Baptist church to which he belonged land for a building. Later he was at the head of what was known as the Puritan Church, which celebrated the Lord's Supper every Sunday. He compiled many books but is best remembered as the composer of the tune "Coronation" for "All hail the power of Jesus' name."

Such were the forerunners. It remained for Lowell Mason (1792-1872) to place church music on a modern and thoroughly acceptable basis. Holding at first low views of music as an art, this man was destined to give to sacred song in America a new dignity and to awaken what was really unparalleled enthusiasm for choral work. From his home in Boston he went to Savannah, Georgia, where for years he was employed as a bank clerk. While in the South he continued his studies in

church music and at length brought together a considerable manuscript. This he offered without success to publishers in Philadelphia and Boston, and from the latter place he was about to return to his work when he was introduced to the Handel and Haydn Society and the manuscript submitted to Dr. George K. Jackson, organist of the Society. Mason made it clear that in case of acceptance he did not care to have his name on the title-page of the book, as he was "a bank officer" and "did not wish to be known as a musical man." His collection was issued and was exceedingly successful, running to seventeen editions and yielding the compiler and the Society not less than \$30,000 each. A little later the composer gave up banking and entered into a permanent arrangement with the Bowdoin Street Church in Boston. He also became president and conductor of the Handel and Haydn Society. Thenceforth he was very busy. He developed unusual skill as a teacher, and, aside from his own composing, attended innumerable conventions and edited not less than fifty collections, instruction books, and manuals, making church music in America respected as it had never been respected before. Among his more familiar tunes are "Olney" for Charles Wesley's "Jesus, my strength, my hope," "Laban" for George Heath's "My soul, be on thy guard," "Naomi" for Anne Steele's "Father, whate'er of earthly bliss," "Sabbath" for

Newton's "Safely through another week," "Harwell" for Kelly's "Hark! ten thousand harps and voices," "Olivet" for Ray Palmer's "My faith looks up to thee," the Missionary Hymn tune for "From Greenland's icy mountains," and "Bethany" for "Nearer, my God, to thee." In almost every case these are the tunes by which the hymns are best known. The composer, however, made numerous adaptations, and he himself might not always have known when he was original and when he was not. Even "Bethany" seems to have some basis in German folk-song.

Frequently associated with Mason was Thomas Hastings (1784-1872), who, similarly dissatisfied with American church music, set out to reform it. In his youth at Clinton, New York, this composer struggled against meager educational opportunities, and he never became a scientific and thoroughly trained musician. Even so he was an inspiring teacher, and he composed hundreds of hymns and hymn tunes. He was a Presbyterian, and worked for some years in Utica, Troy, and Albany. He was then called to New York to assume charge of twelve church choirs, and there he remained for forty years, teaching and directing, editing and publishing. We owe to him the tunes "Toplady" for "Rock of Ages," "Ortonville" for Stennett's "Majestic sweetness sits enthroned," "Zion" for Kelly's "Zion stands with hills surrounded," "Bye-

field" for Montgomery's "Prayer is the soul's sincere desire," and "Retreat" for Hugh Stowell's "From every stormy wind that blows." As in the case of Mason, these are most frequently the tunes by which the hymns are best known.

ENGLISH EVANGELICALS

Andrew Reed (1787-1862), an ardent philanthropist and organizer, was the son of a watchmaker. Having been trained for the Congregational ministry at Hackney College, he became pastor of New Road Chapel, Saint George's-in-the-East, and of Wycliffe Chapel, London, remaining at the latter post for thirty years. He founded six institutions for orphans and incurables, and was a constant supporter of missionary effort both at home and abroad. In 1817 he compiled a Supplement to Watts, which was later enlarged, and in 1842 *The Hymn Book*, containing about twenty of his own hymns and as many more by his wife. Best of all is "Holy Ghost, with light divine," which is especially impressive when used with the tune "Mercy" adapted from Gottschalk's "Last Hope."

"Holy Ghost, with light divine,
Shine upon this heart of mine;
Chase the shades of night away;
Turn the darkness into day.

"Holy Ghost, with power divine,
Cleanse this guilty heart of mine;
Long has sin, without control,
Held dominion o'er my soul.

"Holy Ghost, with joy divine,
Cheer this saddened heart of mine;
Bid my many woes depart;
Heal my wounded, bleeding heart.

"Holy Spirit, all divine,
Dwell within this heart of mine;
Cast down every idol-throne;
Reign supreme, and reign alone."

Harriet Auber (1773-1862) was born in London but spent most of her long and secluded life in Hertfordshire. She wrote much devotional poetry, and in 1829 appeared *Spirit of the Psalms*, mainly her work. Several of her hymns have found their way into modern collections, the best being one on the Holy Spirit.

"Our blest Redeemer, ere he breathed
His tender last farewell
A Guide, a Comforter bequeathed
With us to dwell.

"He came in semblance of a dove,
With sheltering wings outspread,
The holy balm of peace and love
On earth to shed.

“He came sweet influence to impart,
 A gracious, willing guest,
 While he can find one humble heart
 Wherein to rest.

“And his that gentle voice we hear,
 Soft as the breath of even,
 That checks each thought, that calms
 each fear,
 And speaks of heaven.

“Spirit of purity and grace,
 Our weakness, pitying, see:
 O make our hearts, thy dwelling place,
 More worthy thee.”

Horatius Bonar (1808-1889), born in Edinburgh and educated at the university there, served successfully as a pastor at Kelso and in middle life returned to his home city to be minister of the Chalmers Memorial Church. In different years Doctor Bonar published three volumes of his hymns, and throughout the century he had a high reputation for his work in the field, this being assisted by his own gracious spirit. The more one studies his writings, however, the more he is convinced that the hymns hardly maintain the highest standards set for the form, and that some of them really belong to the school of gospel hymns and songs. Among the better known are “I heard the voice of Jesus say,” “I was a wandering sheep,” “A few more

years shall roll," "Beyond the smiling and the weeping," and "Only remembered by what we have done."

"I heard the voice of Jesus say,
 'Come unto me and rest;
Lay down, thou weary one, lay down
 Thy head upon my breast.'
I came to Jesus as I was,
 Weary and worn and sad;
I found in him a resting place,
 And he has made me glad."

Of spirit nearly similar was Charlotte Elliott (1789-1871), of Brighton, who, though an invalid, lived to see her eighty-second year. About her most familiar hymn, "Just as I am, without one plea," blessed memories cling, and many stories bear witness to the power of its appeal. Miss Elliott also wrote several other hymns, however, among them "My God and Father, while I stray," "My God, is any hour so sweet," and "O Holy Saviour, Friend unseen."

"Just as I am, without one plea,
But that thy blood was shed for me,
And that thou bidd'st me come to thee,
 O Lamb of God, I come!

"Just as I am, and waiting not
To rid my soul of one dark blot,
To thee, whose blood can cleanse each spot,
 O Lamb of God, I come!

"Just as I am, though tossed about
 With many a conflict, many a doubt,
 Fightings within and fears without,
 O Lamb of God, I come!

"Just as I am—poor, wretched, blind;
 Sight, riches, healing of the mind,
 Yea, all I need, in thee I find,
 O Lamb of God, I come!

"Just as I am—thou wilt receive,
 Wilt welcome, pardon, cleanse, relieve;
 Because thy promise I believe,
 O Lamb of God, I come!

"Just as I am—thy love unknown
 Has broken every barrier down;
 Now to be thine, yea, thine alone,
 O Lamb of God, I come!"

Frances Ridley Havergal (1836-1879) was born at Astley in Worcestershire, the daughter of a clergyman of the Church of England who was a man of unusual culture. She became an accomplished linguist and musician; and, although her health was frail, with deep and earnest piety she constantly gave herself to good works. Because of her beauty of spirit there has been a tendency to give her hymns, like those of Doctor Bonar, a higher rating than they deserve. There can be no question that many of her compositions have been very helpful, among the better known being "I gave my life for thee," "Take my life and let it be,"

"Lord, speak to me that I may speak," "Who is on the Lord's side?" "Precious, precious blood of Jesus," and "We could not do without thee." It will be observed, however, that some even of these anticipate the gospel and Salvation Army hymns.

"I gave my life for thee,
My precious blood I shed,
That thou might'st ransomed be
And quickened from the dead.
I gave my life for thee:
What hast thou given for me?"

Sabine Baring-Gould (1834-1924) was an author of remarkable versatility. Having graduated from Cambridge, he was ordained in 1864 and went as curate to Horbury. In 1871 he was appointed rector of East Marsea, Essex, and ten years later he became rector of the parish in Lew Trenchard, Devon, where his family had had its seat for three hundred years. Together with the family property he had inherited responsibility for the parish on his father's death nine years before, and there as squire, historian, novelist, and poet, as well as rector and theologian, he labored, producing in all more than a hundred books. Of his hymns, "Onward, Christian soldiers!" and "Now the day is over" have greatly surpassed the others in popularity. The first of these appealed especially to the Young Men's Christian Association. It was written in 1865 while the author was still a curate in Horbury.

As to the occasion he said: "One Whit-Monday it was arranged that our school should join its forces with those of a neighboring village. I wanted the children to sing while marching from one village to the other, but couldn't think of anything suitable; so I sat up at night resolved to write something myself. 'Onward, Christian soldiers!' was the result."

"Onward, Christian soldiers!
 Marching as to war,
 With the cross of Jesus
 Going on before.
 Christ, the royal Master,
 Leads against the foe;
 Forward into battle,
 See his banners go!"

George Matheson (1842-1906) was one of the noblest spirits of his generation. He was born in Glasgow and at the age of twenty lost his sight. This affliction seemed only to increase his zeal for learning and just a few months after it befell him he received the A.M. degree at the University of Edinburgh. He later served in various appointments in the Church of Scotland. His publications were numerous, but he is primarily remembered as the author of "O love that wilt not let me go," possibly the greatest hymn written in English since the days of the Oxford Movement. There is a persistent tradition that the poem was written after the

author was rejected by a young lady to whom he was engaged when it was found that he was going blind. This is not wholly impossible, as a marriage to which Matheson himself refers may well have brought to him poignant memories of an earlier day. There is no definite proof of the statement, however, and it may be pointed out that the hymn was written twenty years after the supposed experience. The following is the author's statement as to the matter: "My hymn was composed in the manse of Innellan on the evening of 6th June, 1882. I was at that time alone. It was the day of my sister's marriage, and the rest of the family were staying overnight in Glasgow. Something had happened to me, which was known only to myself, and which caused me the most severe mental suffering. The hymn was the fruit of that suffering. It was the quickest bit of work I ever did in my life. I had the impression, rather, of having it dictated to me by some inward voice than of working it out myself. I am quite sure that the whole work was completed in five minutes, and equally sure that it never received at my hand any retouching or correction. The hymnal Committee of the Church of Scotland desired the change of one word. I had written originally 'I climbed the rainbow in the rain.' They objected to the word 'climb' and I put 'trace'."¹

¹ D. Macmillan, *The Life of George Matheson*, New York, 1907, p. 181.

"O Love that wilt not let me go,
 I rest my weary soul in thee;
 I give thee back the life I owe,
 That in thine ocean depths its flow
 May richer, fuller be.

"O Light that followest all my way,
 I yield my flickering torch to thee;
 My heart restores its borrowed ray,
 That in thy sunshine's blaze its day
 May brighter, fairer be.

"O Joy that seekest me through pain,
 I cannot close my heart to thee;
 I trace the rainbow through the rain,
 And feel the promise is not vain
 That morn shall tearless be.

"O Cross that liftest up my head,
 I dare not ask to fly from thee;
 I lay in dust life's glory dead,
 And from the ground there blossoms red
 Life that shall endless be."

AMERICAN EVANGELICALS

George W. Doane (1799-1859) was educated at Union College, Schenectady, New York, and ordained in the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1821. He served as an assistant at Trinity Church in New York, was for four years a professor in Trinity College, Hartford, in 1828 became rector of Trinity Church in Boston, and in 1832 Bishop of New Jersey. He was in sympathy with the Tractarian movement, and his force of character made him one of the outstanding prelates of his time.

Among his hymns are "Softly now the light of day"
and "Fling out the banner, let it float."

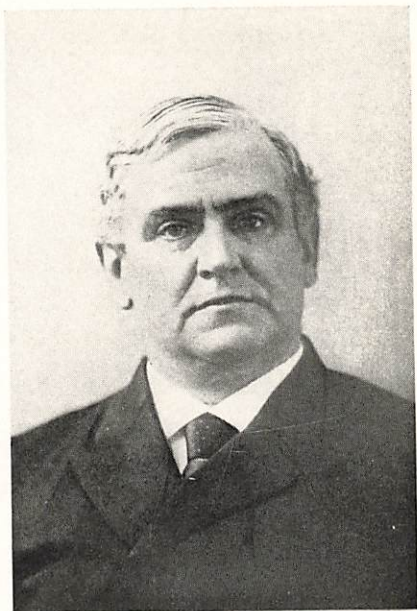
"Softly now the light of day
Fades upon my sight away;
Free from care, from labor free,
Lord, I would commune with thee."

Phillips Brooks (1835-1893) studied at Harvard and in his earlier years was deeply influenced by Emerson and Theodore Parker. After a brief season of teaching in the Boston Latin School, at which he was not very successful, he studied at the Episcopal Theological Seminary, Alexandria, Virginia. Ordained in 1859, he became rector of the Church of the Advent and then of Holy Trinity, Philadelphia; and from 1869 to 1891 he was rector of Trinity Church in Boston. In 1871, two years after he went to Boston, the church, then on Summer Street, was destroyed in the great fire that swept through the heart of the city. It was rebuilt on the present site in Copley Square. In 1891, having declined various other honors, Doctor Brooks consented to serve as Bishop of Massachusetts. In the period of his long service in Boston his influence became unique; it is doubtful if there was ever in the United States a minister who served equally as a spiritual guide for the country. Of great stature, massive build, and sunny temper, he appealed alike to all classes and ages and phases of belief. Business men facing

large issues and people with domestic or other difficulties would sometimes ride hundreds of miles to have a word with him. It was while he was still rector of Holy Trinity in Philadelphia, in 1865, that he visited Bethlehem at the Christmas season. "Before dark," he wrote, "we rode out of town to the field where they say the shepherds saw the star. . . . As we passed, the shepherds were still 'keeping watch over their flocks' or 'leading them home to fold'." Three years later, in 1868, the memory was vivid with him, and then it was that he wrote his well-known carol, the music being contributed by Lewis H. Redner, organist of the church and superintendent of the Sunday school.

"O little town of Bethlehem,
How still we see thee lie!
Above thy deep and dreamless sleep
The silent stars go by;
Yet in thy dark streets shineth
The everlasting Light;
The hopes and fears of all the years
Are met in thee to-night."

George Duffield, Jr. (1818-1888), was serving as a pastor in Philadelphia when a remarkable and pathetic occurrence suggested "Stand up for Jesus," the hymn by which he is known. The real leader of the great revival in the city in the winter of 1857-58 was a young Episcopalian clergyman, Dudley A. Tyng, an enthusiastic worker for Christian fellow-



From The Story of the American Hymn

PHILLIPS BROOKS

ship. He had but lately preached against slavery and had been forced, accordingly, to retire from the rectorship of the Church of the Epiphany. Other ministers rallied to him, and he went forth, preached in a public hall, and established the Church of the Covenant. In April, at the close of the revival, he went one day to his barn to attend to a mule that was treading a machine for shelling corn. His study gown caught in the wheel, and his neck and arm were so badly lacerated that he died six days later. While he lay suffering he was asked if he had any message for his fellow clergymen. "Tell them," he said, "Let us all stand up for Jesus." At a memorial meeting a little later a poem echoing the words was read. Duffield was present, and the next Sunday he preached from Ephesians 6. 14, and at the close of his sermon read to the congregation the lines he had composed.

"Stand up! stand up for Jesus!
Ye soldiers of the cross;
Lift high his royal banner,
It must not suffer loss;
From victory unto victory
His army shall he lead,
Till ev'ry foe is vanquished,
And Christ is Lord indeed."

Ray Palmer (1808-1887), the son of a judge in Boston, after graduation at Yale became pastor of the Central Congregational Church, Bath, Maine,

where his best hymns were written. Later he was at the First Congregational Church in Albany, and then he became corresponding secretary of the American Congregational Union. He impressed all who knew him as an earnest, cheerful, devout Christian. Among other things he wrote "Jesus, thou Joy of loving hearts," "Jesus, these eyes have never seen," and "My faith looks up to thee."

"My faith looks up to thee,
Thou Lamb of Calvary,
Saviour divine!
Now hear me while I pray,
Take all my guilt away,
O let me from this day
Be wholly thine."

Harriet Beecher Stowe (1812-1896), famous as the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, was in the midst of the agitation against slavery when her brother, Henry Ward Beecher, published his hymn book, *The Plymouth Collection*. To this she contributed three hymns, one of which, used with music by Mendelssohn, seems to be a permanent contribution to sacred literature.

"Still, still with thee, when purple morning breaketh,
When the bird waketh and the shadows flee;
Fairer than morning, lovelier than daylight,
Dawns the sweet consciousness, I am with thee."

Mary A. Lathbury (1841-1913), the "Laureate of Chautauqua," was born in Manchester, New

York, the daughter of a Methodist minister. In 1874 she was engaged by Dr. John H. Vincent as an assistant in the editorial department of the Methodist Sunday School Union, and thus employed she was in touch with the Chautauqua Movement from the beginning. It was in connection with this that she wrote for Bible Study groups "Break thou the bread of life" and the evening hymn, "Day is dying in the west."

"Day is dying in the west ;
Heaven is touching earth with rest ;
Wait and worship while the night
Sets her evening lamps alight
Through all the sky.

"Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts !
Heaven and earth are full of thee,
Heaven and earth are praising thee,
O Lord most high !"

Mary Ann Thomson (1834-1923) was a writer who has hardly been given the place in hymnody that she deserves. Born in England, she removed to America and became the wife of John Thomson, librarian of the Free Library in Philadelphia. A woman of unusual culture, she contributed many hymns to the denominational papers of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and several of these were later included in the hymnal. All are good and one is among the strongest and most useful missionary hymns in the language.

"O Zion, haste, thy mission high fulfilling,
 To tell to all the world that God is light,
 That He who made all nations is not willing
 One soul should perish, lost in shades of night.
 Publish glad tidings, tidings of peace,
 Tidings of Jesus, redemption and release."

Apart from all of these writers but not less sincere was America's foremost religious poet, John Greenleaf Whittier (1807-1892). This distinguished author was not primarily a hymn writer; nevertheless selections from his poems have served admirably in worship. All are permeated by an air of simple faith and peace. Especially have selections been taken from "The Eternal Goodness" and "Our Master." Of stanzas from the latter of these poems not less than five separate hymns have been formed, among them "Immortal Love, forever full" and "Our Lord and Master of us all." Five stanzas from the latter portion of "The Brewing of Soma" make very nearly a perfect hymn.

"Dear Lord and Father of mankind,
 Forgive our feverish ways!
 Reclothe us in our rightful mind,
 In purer lives thy service find,
 In deeper reverence, praise.

"In simple trust like theirs who heard,
 Beside the Syrian sea,
 The gracious calling of the Lord,
 Let us, like them, without a word
 Rise up and follow thee.

"O Sabbath rest by Galilee!
O calm of hills above,
Where Jesus knelt to share with thee
The silence of eternity,
Interpreted by love!

"Drop thy still dews of quietness,
Till all our strivings cease;
Take from our souls the strain and stress,
And let our ordered lives confess
The beauty of thy peace.

"Breathe through the heats of our desire
Thy coolness and thy balm;
Let sense be dumb, let flesh retire;
Speak through the earthquake, wind, and fire,
O still small voice of calm."

AMERICAN WRITERS OF PATRIOTIC HYMNS

In addition to the authors who have been mentioned there are a few others who are primarily remembered by reason of the patriotic hymns that they contributed to the nation's life.

Samuel F. Smith (1808-1895) was a member of the famous class of 1829 at Harvard, for the thirtieth reunion of which Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote his poem "The Boys." In 1832 he was graduated at the Andover Theological Seminary. Ordained in 1834, he served for eight years as pastor of the Baptist church in Waterville, Maine; in 1842 he was called to the First Baptist Church, Newton, Massachusetts; and twelve years later he resigned to devote himself to the editorship of the publica-

tions of the American Baptist Missionary Union, and to other literary work. Doctor Smith was a friend of Lowell Mason, and he wrote in all about one hundred hymns. One of the best is the missionary hymn, "The morning light is breaking." The author's unique distinction, however, rests upon "My country, 'tis of thee," which was first sung at a children's Fourth-of-July celebration in Park Street Church, Boston.

"My country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing;
Land where my fathers died,
Land of the pilgrims' pride,
From ev'ry mountain side
Let freedom ring!"

Leonard Bacon (1802-1881) was a Congregational minister who had grown up in the Yale tradition and who served as a pastor in New Haven. What is known as the Hymn for Forefathers' Day was written in its first form as early as 1833:

"O God, beneath thy guiding hand,
Our exiled fathers crossed the sea;
And when they trod the wintry strand,
With prayer and psalm they worshiped thee."

Julia Ward Howe (1819-1910) was born in New York. She was of Revolutionary descent and her early home was one of religious strictness. After her marriage, however, she went to Boston, was

influenced by more liberal tendencies, and, having met Garrison and other Abolitionists, became strongly opposed to slavery. While in Washington early in the Civil War she received the suggestion of better words than "John Brown's body lies a-moldering in the grave" for an old camp-meeting melody popular with the Union soldiers. The result was "The Battle-Hymn of the Republic."

"Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord;
He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of
wrath are stored;
He hath loosed the fateful lightning of his terrible swift
sword:
His truth is marching on."

Daniel C. Roberts (1841-1907) served for years as vicar of Saint Paul's Church, Concord, New Hampshire. In 1876, for the celebration of the centennial Fourth of July at Brandon, Vermont, he wrote a hymn that is now a part of the national heritage. The music was composed by George William Warren, for more than thirty years organist at Saint Thomas's in New York.

"God of our fathers, whose almighty hand
Leads forth in beauty all the starry band
Of shining worlds in splendor through the skies,
Our grateful songs before thy throne arise.

"Thy love divine hath led us in the past;
In this free land by thee our lot is cast;
Be thou our Ruler, Guardian, Guide, and Stay;
Thy word our law, thy paths our chosen way.

"From war's alarms, from deadly pestilence,
 Be thy strong arm our ever sure defense;
 Thy true religion in our hearts increase,
 Thy bounteous goodness nourish us in peace.

"Refresh thy people on their toilsome way,
 Lead us from night to never-ending day;
 Fill all our lives with love and grace divine,
 And glory, laud, and praise be ever thine."

Katharine Lee Bates (1859-1930) was for most of her life a professor of English literature at Wellesley College. A woman of broad culture, she was also an unconventional and inspiring teacher, and she wrote or edited many books on literary subjects. In traveling across the country at the time of the Columbian Exposition in Chicago (1893), she was impressed by the beauty of the fields of grain that she passed, and thrilled as she thought of the destiny of the United States. The poem that she wrote has now taken a place among the foremost patriotic hymns of the country. It has had several musical settings, but "Materna" is the tune that has won widest acceptance.

"O beautiful for spacious skies,
 For amber waves of grain,
 For purple mountain majesties
 Above the fruited plain!
 America! America!
 God shed his grace on thee,
 And crown thy good with brotherhood
 From sea to shining sea."

X

THE GOSPEL HYMNS

THE so-called gospel hymns and songs were perfectly in accord with the spirit of the developing America, and they rose to their great popularity just on the eve of the Centennial of 1876. E. H. Johnson, editor of *Sursum Corda*, has reminded us that these sentimental airs and lyrics were not an outgrowth of the older camp-meeting hymns but were rather suggested by the plaintive "plantation melodies" of Stephen C. Foster. Mason and Hastings had fixed the form for hymn tunes, and many song books had been issued for public and private schools. It was Bradbury, a student of Mason's, who now introduced light tunes in the Sunday schools. This composer had studied in Europe, where he had been impressed by the gay Swiss airs, and his religious songs for children won boundless popularity. They also called forth much criticism from musicians, and one result was that they stimulated to more serious effort such men as Lowry and W. H. Doane. Soon some of the pieces composed for Sunday schools began to be used in meetings for older people, and one form especially cultivated was that of the ballad with a refrain. The gospel hymns

were adopted by Moody in his evangelistic campaigns; Sankey, the singer at the meetings, became the leader of a new school; and the success of the hymns was so great that it developed into a vogue.

In dealing with these compositions we understand at the outset that we have to do with an order of work that can hardly win the meed of critical approval. Words are often so trite or commonplace, music is so simple or trivial, that a capable poet or musician might well be aghast. No one realized this more than some of the composers themselves. Said Lowry of "Shall we gather at the river?": "It is brass-band music, has a march movement, and for that reason has become popular, though, for myself, I do not think much of it." Of the music for "The Shining Shore" Root wrote: "When I took up the melody to harmonize it, it seemed so very simple and commonplace that I hesitated about setting the other parts to it. I finally decided that it might be useful to somebody, and I completed it, though it was not printed until some months afterward. In after years I examined it in an endeavor to account for its great popularity—but in vain. To the musician there is not one reason in melody or harmony, scientifically regarded, for such a fact." That may be true, not only of this piece but of scores of others; and in recent years there has been still further degradation. The fact remains, however, that several of the gospel hymns have been used with overwhelm-

ing effect and that many of them have helped people to nobler living. Considered simply as hymns, they advance serious claims to recognition. The basis of all hymnody is feeling; and if Root had looked a little further into "The Shining Shore," he might have found in it a melancholy and a yearning that are deep-seated in humanity and that are of the very essence of romanticism. Add to these qualities that of spiritual aspiration, and the appeal with a vast audience may easily be irresistible.

COMPOSERS AND SINGERS

The ordinary procedure in the production of a hymn is for an author to write the words and for a composer to fit to these a tune that may be appropriate. In connection with the gospel hymns, however, this order was frequently reversed, a tune being written first. We may even say that in a large way the music takes precedence over the words, and we find that in unusual degree the success of the new hymns was due to two or three gifted singers who placed them before the public and won for them acceptance.

First of the composers, as has been suggested, was William B. Bradbury (1816-1868). This untiring worker was born in Maine but in his youth removed to Boston, where he attended the classes conducted by Dr. Lowell Mason. In course of time he was admitted to the choir of Bowdoin Street Church;

then, after a season of teaching in Maine and New Brunswick, he took charge of the music at the First Baptist Church in Brooklyn, where he overcame opposition to the use of the organ. He remained at this post only a year, however, before he was called to direct the music at the Baptist Tabernacle in New York. Henceforth he gave himself to religious music of a distinctly popular cast; he edited not less than fifty-nine books, and to him more than to anyone else is due the transition through which American devotional music passed in his day.

George F. Root (1820-1895) was born in Sheffield, Massachusetts, but when he was still a boy was taken by his father with the family to North Reading, near Boston. He soon learned to play upon a number of instruments and became an assistant of Doctor Mason in the public schools. He taught for a while in the Institution for the Blind in New York, where Fanny Crosby studied and worked; later he founded the Normal Musical Institute; and with Mason and Bradbury he conducted summer normal schools. He was the composer of such popular pieces as "There's Music in the Air," "The Vacant Chair," "The Battle-Cry of Freedom," "Just Before the Battle, Mother," and "Tramp, Tramp, Tramp, the Boys are Marching." With a brother, E. T. Root, and C. M. Cady he founded the music firm of Root and Cady, which was exceedingly successful but lost heavily in the Chicago fire.

Later he was associated with John Church & Co., of Cincinnati.

Robert Lowry (1826-1899) was born in Philadelphia and as a child revealed unusual fondness for music. Having joined the First Baptist Church when seventeen years of age, he became an active worker in the Sunday school both as teacher and chorister. He studied at Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pennsylvania; was later a professor there; and he returned to the university after serving in various pastorates, including ten years in New York and Brooklyn. He succeeded Bradbury as editor for Biglow and Main, and subsequently was associated with W. H. Doane in the compiling of several books. In all of his work Doctor Lowry displayed rare administrative ability; at the same time he was uniformly genial and inspiring.

William Howard Doane (1832-1915) was born in Preston, Connecticut, the son of the head of a firm of cotton manufacturers. He studied at Woodstock Academy, where when fourteen years of age he became leader of the choir. Having served for a while in his father's business, he went to Cincinnati as manager for J. A. Fay & Co., manufacturers of wood-working machinery, and later became president of the firm. He himself had a mechanical as well as a musical gift, and he took out patents on more than seventy inventions; but his interest in church and Sunday-school work never

abated. He published numerous collections, his *Silver Spray* being perhaps the most popular Sunday-school book of his day. In 1875 the degree of Doctor of Music was conferred on him by Denison University.

The first singer to bring the gospel hymns prominently before the public was Philip Phillips (1834-1875), "the singing pilgrim." This man was born in Jamestown, New York, and even as a boy on the farm he showed decided talent for music. At nineteen he began to conduct a singing school, and just a few years later he entered business for the sale of pianos, organs, and Sunday-school books. Possessing a remarkable tenor voice, he would place a melodeon on a street corner and sing and attract the crowds. A disastrous fire led him to remove to New York, and he now issued *The Singing Pilgrim* and numerous other books. He himself wrote no hymns but he composed a great number of tunes. In February, 1865, at a meeting of the United States Christian Commission in the Senate Chamber in Washington, he sang before the many notables present "Your Mission," by Mrs. Ellen M. H. Gates, the poem beginning "If you cannot on the ocean." The impression was so powerful that President Lincoln asked the chairman, Secretary Seward, to have the song repeated near the close of the meeting. The success of Phillips on this occasion led to strong demand for his services. In 1868 came an invitation

from the London Sunday School Convention to give one hundred evenings of sacred song in the United Kingdom; and the whole tour was an unbounded success. The "pilgrim" appeared in Australia and Asia as well as Europe and America, and with his thousands of engagements he had the reputation of never missing a single one. For benevolent purposes alone he is said to have appeared not less than four thousand times and to have raised considerably more than a hundred thousand dollars.

Ira David Sankey (1840-1908) was born in Edinburgh, Pennsylvania, but while he was still a youth his parents removed to Newcastle. There he united with the Methodist church, and it was not long before he was both choir leader and Sunday-school superintendent. In 1861 he answered President Lincoln's call for volunteers and for two years he served in the army, frequently leading the singing in camp. In 1867 a branch of the Young Men's Christian Association was organized in Newcastle, and of this he was elected secretary and later president. As a young man he had been impressed by the singing of Phillips, but it was the International Y. M. C. A. Convention in Indianapolis that marked the turning-point in his own career. The singing at the convention was poor until he led "There is a fountain filled with blood," when everything was transfigured. At the close of the meeting Dwight L. Moody, one of the speakers, asked in

his blunt way, "Where are you from?" "Pennsylvania," was the reply. "Are you married?" "I am." "How many children have you?" "Two." "What is your business?" "I am a government officer." "Well," said Moody, "you'll have to give it up. I have been looking for you for the last eight years." Sankey was not so sure that he could go at once, but he consented to pray about the matter; within the next few days he was with Moody in one or two meetings; and six months later he joined the evangelist in Chicago. For the next twenty-eight years they were associated, and what they accomplished in that period is a thrilling story of the cross. Their work was just getting under way when in October, 1871, it was interrupted by the great fire in Chicago. In 1873 they went to England. Just before landing they learned that the two men who had invited Moody had died. An opening was found in York, however; a young minister named F. B. Meyer acknowledged their helpful influence; and it was two years before a great farewell meeting was held in Liverpool. In November, 1875, the evangelists opened their meetings in the old Pennsylvania Railroad Depot in Philadelphia, which John Wanamaker had fitted up for their use, going later to Brooklyn. Other trips to Great Britain followed, and they visited Canada and Mexico as well.

In England on the first visit Sankey brought together the hymns that he had used and published,

first as a 16-page pamphlet, *Sacred Songs and Solos*. On the return to America this was united with materials that Bliss had issued, and the joint collection was published as *Gospel Hymns and Sacred Songs* (1875), which was introduced at the meetings in Brooklyn and Philadelphia with overwhelming effect, this and later numbers in the series selling to the extent of millions of copies. Royalties were regularly given by the evangelists to benevolent purposes. Sankey himself wrote the words of only a few hymns, but he composed the tunes of many. It was at a meeting in Edinburgh in 1874 that he first sang the hymn with which his name will ever be connected. Mr. Moody had spoken with great power of "The Good Shepherd," and Doctor Bonar had followed with a few fervidly eloquent words. It was his turn to sing something, but nothing that he could think of seemed to fit the occasion. "Sing the hymn you found on the train," a voice seemed to say; and he thought of a little poem he had clipped from a Christian paper on his journey to the city. The words were by Mrs. Elizabeth C. Clephane (1830-1869), a native of Scotland who had died just five years before. They had never been set to music, however, and the singer had to keep his eye on the verses at the same time that he was composing the tune. With a prayer for guidance, however, he entered upon the first stanza, and thus a new melody was born, in the presence of more

than a thousand people. Sankey afterward said it was the most intense moment of his life.

"There were ninety and nine that safely lay
In the shelter of the fold;
But one was out on the hills away,
Far off from the gates of gold—
Away on the mountains wild and bare,
Away from the tender Shepherd's care.

"Lord, thou hast here thy ninety and nine;
Are they not enough for thee?"
But the Shepherd made answer: 'This of mine
Has wandered away from me,
And, although the road be rough and steep,
I go to the desert to find my sheep.'

"But none of the ransomed ever knew
How deep were the waters crossed;
Nor how dark was the night that the Lord passed
through
Ere he found his sheep that was lost;
Out in the desert he heard its cry—
Sick and helpless, and ready to die.

"Lord, whence are those blood-drops all the way
That mark out the mountain's track?"
'They were shed for one who had gone astray
Ere the Shepherd could bring him back.'
'Lord, whence are thy hands so rent and torn?'
'They are pierced to-night by many a thorn.'

"But all through the mountains, thunder-riven,
And up from the rocky steep,
There arose a glad cry to the gate of heaven,
'Rejoice! I have found my sheep!'
And the angels echoed around the throne,
'Rejoice! for the Lord brings back his own!'"

Aside from those who have been mentioned, there were many composers and singers of gospel hymns; and we have yet to consider Fanny Crosby and Philip P. Bliss, the chief writers of the words. These workers used any poem that might serve their purpose, and they even set familiar hymns of Watts and Wesley and Cowper to more stirring tunes. Sometimes associated with Sankey in his editorial work was James McGranahan, a native of Pennsylvania who had an appealing tenor voice and who assisted Major D. W. Whittle in his evangelistic efforts. A friend of both Sankey and McGranahan was George C. Stebbins, who served as chorister at the First Baptist Church, Chicago, then at Clarendon Street Baptist Church, Boston, and who later assisted in the meetings conducted by Moody. Phoebe Cary's poem, "One sweetly solemn thought," was set to music by Philip Phillips and thus given wide currency. Charlotte Elliott's "Just as I am, without one plea" was given by Bradbury, a tune that, in America at least, has now superseded all others. Three hymns by Doctor Bonar—"Welcome, wanderer, welcome," "Yet there is room," and "Only remembered by what we have done," had Sankey as composer; and for Miss Havergal's "I gave my life for thee" and "Tell it out" music was written respectively by Bliss and Sankey. "Jesus, Saviour, pilot me" had as author

Edward Hopper, a Presbyterian minister, for years pastor of the Church of Sea and Land in New York, and with music by J. E. Gould received wide acceptance. "What a friend we have in Jesus" was written by Joseph Scriven, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, who came to Canada when twenty-five years of age, and who was led, by the accidental drowning of his intended bride on the eve of their wedding day, to consecrate his life and his fortune to the service of Christ. The music was composed by Charles C. Converse, of Massachusetts. "My hope is built on nothing less," by Edward Mote, an English minister, long pastor of the Baptist church in Horsham, Sussex, was given its popular tune by Bradbury. "I need thee every hour" was written by Mrs. Annie S. Hawks, of Hoosick, New York, and the tune for the five stanzas was composed by Doctor Lowry, who added a chorus to make the hymn more effective. "Tell me the old, old story" and the companion piece, "I love to tell the story," both by Kate Hankey, daughter of an English banker, were given musical setting respectively by Doctor Doane and William G. Fischer, a dealer in pianos in Baltimore. Both words and music of "Yield not to temptation" were written by Dr. Horatio R. Palmer, who served for a number of years as director of the Church Choral Union of New York and dean of the school of music at Chautauqua.

THE WRITERS

Fanny Crosby (Frances Jane Crosby) (1820-1915) was born in Southeast, New York, and lost her sight while still an infant because her eyes were not properly treated. When fifteen years of age she entered the Institution for the Blind in New York, and later she was for eleven years teacher of English and history there. In 1858 she was married to Alexander Van Alstyne, a musician, also connected with the institution. She wrote several songs to which Root set the music, and some of these, such as "Hazel Dell," "Rosalie, the Prairie Flower," and "There's Music in the Air," were exceedingly popular just before the Civil War. Fervid and fluent, she composed with ease and rapidity, and all told she wrote hundreds, even some thousands of hymns. One day while she was talking to Mr. Bradbury in New York, Doctor Doane came into the room and said to her, "I have written a tune and I want you to write words for it." "Let me hear how the tune goes," she said; and Doctor Doane played the music on a small organ. Having heard it, she exclaimed, "Why, that says 'Safe in the arms of Jesus,' and I will see what I can do about it." She retired to an adjoining room and in half an hour her poem was finished. Others of her well-known and greatly cherished hymns are "Blessed Assurance," "Pass Me Not, O Gentle Saviour," "Rescue the Perishing," "Saved by Grace," "Saviour, More than Life

to Me," "All the Way My Saviour Leads Me," "I Am Thine, O Lord," and "Jesus, Keep Me Near the Cross."

"Some day the silver cord will break,
And I no more as now shall sing;
But oh, the joy when I shall wake
Within the palace of the King!
And I shall see him face to face,
And tell the story—Saved by Grace.

"Some day my earthly house will fall;
I cannot tell how soon 'twill be;
But this I know—my All in All
Has now a place in heav'n for me.

"Some day, when fades the golden sun
Beneath the rosy-tinted west,
My blessed Lord will say, 'Well done!
And I shall enter into rest.

"Some day; till then I'll watch and wait,
My lamp all trimmed and burning bright,
That when my Saviour ope's the gate,
My soul to him may take its flight."¹

Philip P. Bliss² (1838-1876) was born in Clearfield County, Pennsylvania, and received his first musical impressions from the offering of praise at family prayers. When twelve years of age he united with a Baptist church. While still in his youth he received much inspiration from Bradbury,

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²The name was originally Philipp Bliss, but the evangelist preferred to use the last letter in his Christian name as a middle initial.



From The Story of the American Hymn

SAMUEL FRANCIS SMITH

and one day he sent to Root the manuscript of a song asking if he could not be given a flute for it. The flute was sent, and later he went to Chicago as the representative of the firm of which Root was a member. Still later he worked with Root in musical institutes and conventions, and he was associated with Sankey in his editing and with Major Whittle in his evangelistic effort. His beautiful voice helped to bring many souls to Christ, and his wife gave him valiant assistance. On December 29, 1876, he and his faithful helpmeet left Rome, Pennsylvania, for Chicago, where they were to assist in one of Mr. Moody's meetings. Near Ashtabula, Ohio, the bridge over which the train was passing gave way, and the cars were precipitated through a chasm sixty feet deep to the stream below. Fire broke out and nearly all of the passengers perished. Mr. Bliss succeeded in extricating himself from the wreck, but was burned in the vain endeavor to rescue his wife. The tragedy, cutting short such a useful life, made a profound impression on the country, and there were many tender recollections in places where the evangelist had recently sung his hymns.

Bliss wrote both words and music for "Almost Persuaded," "Dare to Be a Daniel," "Hallelujah, 'Tis Done," "Hold the Fort," "Let the Lower Lights Be Burning," "Pull for the Shore," "The Light of the World Is Jesus," "Whosoever Will," and "Wonderful Words of Life." He wrote

the words only for "I Will Sing of My Redeemer" and "That Will Be Heaven for Me," and the music only for "Go Bury Thy Sorrow," "I Gave My Life for Thee," "It Is Well With My Soul," "Precious Promise God Hath Given," and "What Shall the Harvest Be?" It was at the close of a sermon that he heard the words: "He who is almost persuaded is almost saved, and to be almost saved is to be entirely lost." His mind was impressed by the thought and he immediately set about the composition of one of his best pieces. At a meeting in Rockford, Illinois, in 1870 he heard Major Whittle relate an incident of the Civil War. Just before General Sherman began his famous march to the sea, fifteen hundred Union soldiers under command of General Corse, of Illinois, were protecting a post at Altoona Pass where a million and a half of rations were stored. It was of the utmost importance that the earthworks commanding the pass be held. Six thousand men, however, were detailed by General Hood to take the position. After a while the works were completely surrounded and Corse was ordered to surrender. He refused, and the bitter fight commenced, the defenders being driven more and more into a small fort on the crest of the hill. When the situation was most desperate a white signal flag was seen far across the valley, miles away, on the top of Kenne-saw Mountain; and the message was waved: "Hold the fort; I am coming. W. T. Sherman." Such

was the suggestion for a song that was soon sung up and down the length and breadth of the land. Just what was the evangelistic purpose of it all was not clear, and Bliss himself hoped that he might not be remembered simply as the author of this piece; nevertheless, when Sankey attended the dedication of the monument at Rome, Pennsylvania, he noted the inscription "P. P. Bliss, Author of 'Hold the Fort.'" Fortunately, there are other hymns by the author that have proved more enduring.

"Almost persuaded now to believe;
Almost persuaded Christ to receive.
Seems now some soul to say,
'Go, Spirit, go thy way,
Some more convenient day
On thee I'll call.'

"Almost persuaded, come, come to-day;
Almost persuaded, turn not away.
Jesus invites you here,
Angels are lingering near,
Prayers rise from hearts so dear;
O Wanderer, come!

"Almost persuaded; harvest is past!
Almost persuaded; doom comes at last!
'Almost' cannot avail;
'Almost' is but to fail.
Sad, sad that bitter wail,
'Almost,' but lost!"

The gospel hymns were so numerous and the leading members of the school worked so freely together

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that sometimes the individual was almost submerged in the effort for the group. The following list of sixty hymns, selected with some degree of care, may reveal at a glance some of those who made the most distinctive contributions:

	WRITER	COMPOSER
All the way my Saviour leads me	F. Crosby	Lowry
Almost Persuaded	Bliss	Bliss
Are you coming home to-night?	"C. C."	McGranahan
Blessed Assurance	F. Crosby	Mrs. J. F. Knapp
Come to the Saviour	Root	Root
Dare to be a Daniel	Bliss	Bliss
Even me	Mrs. E. Codner	Bradbury
Follow on	Cushing	Lowry
God be with you till we meet again	J. E. Rankin	W. G. Tomer
God will take care of you	C. D. Martin	W. S. Martin
Hallelujah! 'tis done!	Bliss	Bliss
He leadeth me	J. H. Gilmore	Bradbury
Hiding in thee	Cushing	Sankey
Hold the Fort	Bliss	Bliss
Home of the Soul	Mrs. E. H. Gates	P. Phillips
I am praying for you	S. O'M. Cluff	Sankey
I am thine, O Lord	F. Crosby	Doane
I need thee every hour	Mrs. A. S. Hawks	Lowry
In the sweet by-and-by	S. F. Bennett	J. P. Webster
It is well with my soul	H. G. Spafford	Bliss
Jesus, I come	W. T. Sleeper	Stebbins
Jesus is calling	F. Crosby	Doane
Jesus, keep me near the cross	F. Crosby	Doane
Leaning on the Everlasting Arms	E. A. Hoffman	A. J. Schowalter
Let the lower lights be burning	Bliss	Bliss
Look and Live	W. A. Ogden	Ogden
Lord, I'm coming home	W. J. Kirkpatrick	Kirkpatrick
More love to thee, O Christ	Mrs. E. Prentiss	Doane
My Jesus, I love thee	(Anon.)	A. J. Gordon
No Night There	J. R. Clements	H. P. Danks
Nothing but the blood of Jesus	Lowry	Lowry
Oh, that will be glory for me	C. H. Gabriel	Gabriel

	WRITER	COMPOSER
Pass it on	Henry Burton	Stebbins
Pass me not, O Gentle Saviour	F. Crosby	Doane
Peace! be still!	Mrs. M. A. Baker	H. R. Palmer
Pull for the Shore	Bliss	Bliss
Rescue the Perishing	F. Crosby	Doane
Ring the bells of heaven	Cushing	Root
Safe in the arms of Jesus	F. Crosby	Doane
Saved by Grace	F. Crosby	Stebbins
Saviour, more than life to me	F. Crosby	Doane
Shall we gather at the river?	Lowry	Lowry
Shall we meet beyond the river?	H. L. Hastings	E. L. Rice
Take the name of Jesus with you	Mrs. Lydia Baxter	Doane
The Comforter has come	F. Bottome	Kirkpatrick
The Shining Shore	David Nelson	Root
There is power in the blood	L. E. Jones	Jones
There were ninety and nine	E. Clephane	Sankey
Throw out the Life-Line	E. S. Ufford	Stebbins
Trusting Jesus, that is all	E. P. Stites	Sankey
When he cometh	Cushing	Root
When the mists have rolled away	Annie Herbert	Sankey
When the roll is called up yonder	J. M. Black	Black
Where he leads me I will follow	E. W. Blandly	J. S. Norris
Where is my wandering boy to-night?	Lowry	Lowry
While the days are going by	George Cooper	Sankey
Why do you wait, dear brother?	Root	Root
Why not to-night?	Eliza Reed	Sankey
Wonderful Words of Life	Bliss	Bliss
Yield Not to Temptation	H. R. Palmer	Palmer

XI

THE SOCIAL IMPULSE AND NEW TENDENCIES

THE social forces that became dominant at the close of the nineteenth century affected hymnody not less than other phases of human effort. The theories of Herbert Spencer as well as those of Rousseau were bearing fruit on both sides of the ocean. Throughout the reign of Victoria the energies of England were absorbed by trade, and British vessels sailed to the farthest islands of the sea. Beneath the surface, however, all was not well; and the laureate drew a dark picture in "Locksley Hall Sixty Years After." Hunger knocked at the gates of pride; the submerged demanded a new hearing, and religion was asked to justify itself in terms of practical living.

The impulse that was now so strongly felt was by no means new. Politically it went back to the French Revolution. All the reforms of the reign of William IV were traceable to it. Now, however, there was a new recognition of the claims of the underprivileged. As Dr. Edward Howard Griggs said eloquently in one of his lectures: "The era of humanity has arisen. Art is transformed in

every department. The sailor at the pumps of a sinking vessel, the fisher's wife moaning alone in the gray dawn, the physician beside the bed of a child whose agonized parents stand beseechingly in the background—these furnish worthy subjects for modern painting. . . . We demand life for ourselves, and we demand it for every human being. Our entire society is being transformed by the desire to give every man and woman, together with ourselves, all opportunity and help in striving for life, happiness, culture, intelligence, helpfulness—all ends of life that are worth seeking."

Especially was hymnody affected by the so-called new theology. In 1856 a Congregational minister, Thomas Toke Lynch, stirred up a great controversy by a little volume, *The Rivulet*, issued as a supplement to Watts. In this he had not intended to use any orthodox expressions about Christ and the atonement, but, rather, to place emphasis on Divine Love and the service of Christ in the common things of life. In America as early as 1864, as we have seen, Longfellow and Johnson, in *Hymns of the Spirit*, had cultivated a free and universal religion, one completely untrammelled by the bounds of historical Christianity. Not even many Unitarians were willing to go so far, but all of the Protestant denominations felt the need of a broader social vision. George Matheson, one of the most devout and mystical of modern Christians, said of the

hymns that he knew: "To my mind they have one great defect; they lack humanitarianism. There is any amount of doctrine in the Trinity, Baptism, Atonement, or the Christian life as such, but what of the secular life—the infirmary, the hospital, the home of refuge? I don't think our hymns will ever be what they ought to be, until we get them inspired by a sense of the enthusiasm of, and for, humanity."¹

THE SOCIAL NOTE

This interest in humanity, while it had not become prominent, had more than once been felt in the hymnody of the century. It was in Doctor Bonar's "Go labor on, spend and be spent." In a hymn by Dr. Washington Gladden (1836-1918) it was now given strong emphasis. This earnest and inspiring worker, for more than thirty years pastor of the First Congregational Church, Columbus, Ohio, was deeply concerned with all phases of modern life, especially with industrial problems.

"O Master, let me walk with thee
In lowly paths of service free;
Tell me thy secret; help me bear
The strain of toil, the fret of care.

"Help me the slow of heart to move
By some clear, winning word of love;
Teach me the wayward feet to stay,
And guide them in the homeward way.

¹D. Macmillan, *The Life of George Matheson*, p. 185.

“Teach me thy patience! still with thee
In closer, dearer company,
In work that keeps faith sweet and strong,
In trust that triumphs over wrong;

“In hope that sends a shining ray
Far down the future’s broadening way;
In peace that only thou canst give,
With thee, O Master, let me live.”

A little later began the work of Dr. Frank Mason North (1850-), also a minister, who has held several distinguished posts in connection with the work of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1892 Doctor North entered upon a period of twenty years of service as corresponding secretary of the New York City Church Extension and Missionary Society. In connection with this work he edited *The Christian City*, and it was in this periodical that there first appeared “A Prayer for the Multitudes,” beginning, “Where cross the crowded ways of life.” Quite as good are the Commemoration Hymn for the semicentennial of Drew Theological Seminary and “The Life of Trust.”

“Where cross the crowded ways of life,
Where sound the cries of race and clan,
Above the noise of selfish strife,
We hear thy voice, O Son of Man!

“In haunts of wretchedness and need,
On shadowed thresholds dark with fears,
From paths where hide the lures of greed,
We catch the vision of thy tears.

"From tender childhood's helplessness,
 From woman's grief, man's burdened toil,
 From famished souls, from sorrow's stress,
 Thy heart has never known recoil.

"The cup of water given for thee
 Still holds the freshness of thy grace;
 Yet long these multitudes to see
 The sweet compassion of thy face.

"O Master, from the mountain side
 Make haste to heal these hearts of pain;
 Among these restless throngs abide,
 O tread the city's streets again;

"Till sons of men shall learn thy love,
 And follow where thy feet have trod;
 Till glorious from thy heaven above
 Shall come the City of our God."

On January 3, 1914, *The Survey* printed its "Social Hymn Number," this being specially edited by Mabel Hay Barrows Mussey. To one accustomed to hymns of a more evangelical type a first reading of the one hundred and ten poems included is likely to give something of a shock. "The first object," we are told, "was to find hymns that could be sung by all people in all places, whether in churches, in halls, in schools, in the open; hymns not only voicing our own joyous faith but binding us closer to our fellow singers; . . . hymns which Jew and Gentile, Protestant and Catholic might sing with equal fervor." Here at the outset was

rejection of anything reflecting positive conviction, and it is not surprising to learn that one juror withdrew because there were not included any hymns of atonement, sin, and sacrifice, which to him suggested "the essential need of the age." Another juror, however, felt the need of hymns expressing the *present* operations of divine inspiration rather than the idea of a faith "once delivered" to the saints. In general, there was a premium on hymns of courage and inspiration that raised no controversial questions, and brotherhood was so emphasized as to be world-inclusive, the old missionary spirit being broadened and deepened and made to blend with new ideas of peace and international and interracial sympathy.

In general, in the social hymns there is emphasis on service to mankind in the present world rather than aspiration for a distant hereafter. God is here as an active force rather than in a heaven in another sphere. Christ is the Son of man even more than the Son of God, and there is indefiniteness as to his nature and person. Seldom is there reference to an inward experience or to the future life; the consistent temper is humanitarian, the tone nonecclesiastical, the diction and phrasing simple and up to date. The Christian Year is ignored; there is more reference to following Christ than to repentance or faith; and the old idea of a band of Christians pursuing their narrow way to heaven gives way to that

of a brotherhood with a living Christ at its head and with all who serve mankind as of his company.

NEW TENDENCIES

Hymns dominated by the social impulse began to be prominent just after the gospel hymns had experienced their greatest vogue. Within recent years there has been some reaction from both groups in favor of lyrics of more subjective quality and higher literary value, and there has also been a reversion to the nobler tradition in music. The tendency to-day, accordingly, is not to reject wholly the best that has been given us by the social temper, but along with the brotherhood of man to feel a new reverence for the love and power of God. Some assistance in this direction was rendered by the late poet laureate, Robert Bridges, who once trained a choir in Yattendon where he lived, and who edited *The Yattendon Hymnal*. This book included hymns of superior literary and musical quality, though the point was made against them that they were somewhat lacking in fire and force. In America the distinguished hymnologist Louis F. Benson (1855-1930), for years editor of the hymn books of the Presbyterian Church, was also interested in original composition and in adaptation from Latin sources. Among his strongest pieces is the hymn of dedication, "O Thou whose gracious presence blest." Dr. Henry van Dyke (1852-), for years pastor of the Brick

Presbyterian Church in New York, later professor at Princeton and minister to the Netherlands, in hymnody as in other forms of writing has been singularly successful in combining with romantic feeling and literary finish wide popular appeal. Among his hymns that have already found their way into collections are "Joyful, joyful, we adore thee" and the patriotic lyric, "O Lord, our God, thy mighty hand," while highly characteristic is the noble "Chant of the Magi at the Fire-Altar."

"We worship the Spirit Divine,
All wisdom and goodness possessing;
Surrounded by Holy Immortals,
The givers of bounty and blessing;
We joy in the work of his hands,
His truth and his glory confessing."

Henry Hallam Tweedy (1868-), a Congregational minister who has served for years as a professor in the Yale Divinity School, has more than once made notable contribution with such hymns as "Eternal God, whose power upholds" and "O gracious Father of mankind."

"O gracious Father of mankind,
Our spirits' unseen Friend,
High heaven's Lord, our hearts' dear Guest,
To thee our prayers ascend.
Thou dost not wait till human speech
Thy gifts divine implore;
Our dreams, our aims, our work, our lives
Are prayers thou lovest more."

Those who have been mentioned are only representative of the stronger writers of hymns within recent years. Several others have produced work that is excellent and that needs only a little more time for full recognition. Sometimes also the lyrics of distinguished poets that were not primarily intended as hymns have been so used; thus Sidney Lanier's "Into the woods my Master went" and a portion of Lowell's "The Present Crisis" have been set to music, while to Josiah Gilbert Holland is attributed the Christmas carol, "There's a song in the air." The well-known English poet, Laurence Housman, has written, among other things, a noble hymn, "Father eternal, ruler of creation," and Percy MacKaye, prominent American dramatist, is the author of "Holy, holy, holy, Lord, thy disciples." John Oxenham takes high place on the basis of "Lord God of hosts, whose mighty hand," "'Mid all the traffic of the ways," and "In Christ there is no East or West." To Mrs. Dorothy F. Gurney is credited "O perfect Love, all human thought transcending," and to Elizabeth Wilson and Helen Thoburn "Father of Lights, in whom there is no shadow."

"Father of Lights, in whom there is no shadow,
 Giver of every good and perfect gift!
 With one accord we seek thy holy presence,
 Gladly our hearts to thee in praise we lift."

THE BEST ENGLISH HYMNS

Some years ago Dr. Louis F. Benson, using as a basis some previous studies that had been made, collated a total of 107 hymn books, from which he chose "the best church hymns" to the number of thirty-two, the basis of selection being the frequency of choice by different editors. In February, 1922, the *Etude* reported the result of a hymn census conducted by Dr. W. H. McMaster, and, growing out of an editorial that challenged its readers, there was given in the same periodical in April of the next year a list of "America's Favorite Hymns." Lists in denominational periodicals have been numerous, one of the most important being that in *The Methodist Times* of London, reproduced in *The Literary Digest*, January 11, 1930, this reporting on twenty-five hymns actually used in three thousand church services in the United Kingdom. If we take into account innate worth, consider such lists as have been made, and also make some allowance for the difference between English and American preference, we may arrive at what may be regarded as favorite hymns or the best hymns in English. The two things are not necessarily the same. Some years ago, in the voting in one periodical, first place was given to "Wonderful Words of Life"—a ranking which critics would certainly not approve. Some hymns, however, which have long been given high

place because of their inclusion in numerous hymn books, such as Ken's "Awake, my soul, and with the sun" and Keble's "Sun of my soul, thou Saviour dear," seem more and more destined to give way to Croly's "Spirit of God, descend upon my heart," Matheson's "O Love that wilt not let me go," and even Charlotte Elliott's "Just as I am, without one plea." In connection with the studies in the *Etude*, Eugene A. Noble remarked: "Favorite hymns are related to intense moods, such as recollection of childhood, bereavement, and religious awakening. They are rarely selected on the basis of either literary or musical worth." Naturally, if a hymn is able to give comfort and at the same time represent fine literary quality, it ought undoubtedly to succeed; and thus it is that for years "Abide with me, fast falls the eventide," has forced higher and higher rating. If, now, we endeavor to take into account all such things as have been suggested, and to see what are the best hymns in English, giving also some weight to popular approval, we arrive at the following ten hymns, which might reasonably claim to be the foremost in the language:

"Abide with me: fast falls the eventide,"

"Rock of Ages, cleft for me,"

"When I survey the wondrous cross,"

"Jesus, Lover of my soul,"

"Nearer, my God, to thee,"

"All hail the power of Jesus' name,"
"Our God, our help in ages past,"
"Lo! He comes with clouds descending,"
"Hark! the herald angels sing,"
"Jerusalem the golden."

Close to these, and sometimes quite as effective, are the following, one or two of which are highly mystical and subjective, and some others of which have proved unusually serviceable in worship:

"Jesus, the very thought of thee,"
"Majestic sweetness sits enthroned,"
"Spirit of God, descend upon my heart,"
"Holy Ghost, with light divine,"
"O Love that wilt not let me go,"
"All praise to Thee, my God, this night,"
"Lead, kindly Light,"
"Blest be the tie that binds,"
"Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty,"
"Just as I am, without one plea."

CONCLUSION

This brings us to the age in which we live. We have seen how it was that English Hymnody found its real origin in the fires of the Reformation, and also how it was that through the influence of Calvin it was for two hundred years restricted to Psalmody. Throughout the seventeenth century there was an

effort toward more original expression in sacred song, this culminating in the New Version of the Psalter by Tate and Brady, after which came the epoch-making contribution of Isaac Watts. Then, with such influences as the Wesleyan Revival, the Missionary Impulse, and the Oxford Movement, we have seen how new springs were opened, the best of the hymns in each case remaining as a permanent legacy. With the Gospel Hymns came a more popular tone and greater effort to reach the man in the street; and out of the social forces at work a little later a demand for a hymnody specially adapted to the needs of the new age. With all the varying notes it is a mighty chorus; and "Rock of Ages," "Jesus, Lover of my soul," and "When I survey the wondrous cross" still have power to challenge and inspire. Now that we have realized the social needs of our time, it may well be that we are ready to sing of a new nearness to Christ, of a faith not less living and fresh because it was also the faith of the fathers.

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THE following list of books is highly eclectic. It intends simply to give the titles of some of the works that may be most informative or suggestive for the student entering upon the vast field of English Hymnody. Few subjects have called forth more unscientific writing, and even some fairly well-known books have been omitted as too poorly organized, too inaccurate, or too prejudiced in tone. Two productions, Julian's *A Dictionary of Hymnology* and Benson's *The English Hymn*, represent such surpassing scholarship that they immediately take rank in a class by themselves. For convenience, however, they are duly listed with the others.

The titles hold strictly to the theme of the historical development of the English Hymn. Hymn books, accordingly, are not listed. This phase of the subject opens a wide sea, and it is hardly fair to name the hymnals of even the larger denominations without including those of others. Fortunately, the subject has been studied once for all in Benson's great work, though even that will need supplementing for books appearing since 1915; and special importance, of course, attaches to the historical edition of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (London, 1909).

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